

CHAPTER XXIX

ELAM c. 1600-1200 B.C.

I. REIGNS AND EVENTS

IT is generally admitted that after the end of the First Dynasty in Babylon, and following upon the death of Shamshi-Adad I in Assyria, there begins a period of great obscurity. The former abundance of documents ceases as though some catastrophe had paralysed the ordinary life of these countries. No text reveals the true causes of this overthrow, but we know that, with the beginning of this sterile period, there came a fresh and powerful advance towards Mesopotamia of the mountain peoples which had harassed it so long. By this time the Hurrians had settled about the upper reaches of the Tigris, and Kassites from the Zagros had drifted into the Mesopotamian plain as workers.

Tribal groups of these peoples who dwelt on the mountain border were now driven from behind by a new Indo-European influx coming, this time, from the north and north-east. The Hurrians, mingled with Aryans, spread over the area between the bend of the Euphrates and the district of Nuzi, to the east of Assyria, and advanced southwards into Palestine. At the same time the Kassites descended in force and made themselves masters of Babylonia, carrying with them isolated groups of Hurrians, some of whom settled around Nippur,¹ where they are found afterwards. The irruption of these less civilized highlanders is generally considered to be the reason for the sudden cessation of historical sources and for the evident decline of Mesopotamian culture in this period.

From the native evidence alone it is difficult to estimate the influence these events had on the history of Elam. Undoubtedly there was an abrupt change in the locality of our sources. It is no longer at Mālamīr, in Susiana, but at Liyan, several hundred miles to the south-east, that the next Elamite texts reappear. We have no means of estimating the lapse of time involved here, as the indigenous sources do not indicate a gap of any importance. The later texts which begin with the names of earlier kings do not show a break in the succession of the dynasties.

* An original version of this chapter was published as fascicle 16 in 1963.

¹ Some earlier Hurrian elements were already there in the Sargonic period; see §1, 2, 187 ff.

Elamite chronology depends, however, on Babylonian chronology. We know that Ammišaduqa and Kuknashur were contemporary,¹ and that the texts of Mālamir overlap the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon. Events occurring just before the foundation of the new Elamite dynasty are known to us through the texts of Kurigalzu II. Therefore the interval between these two periods in Elamite history depends on the dates assigned to Ammišaduqa and Kurigalzu II and there is little agreement on these dates. Some authors consider that at least four centuries separate the two kings, thereby leaving a blank of over four hundred years in Elamite history, whereas others reduce the gap considerably by lowering the date of Hammurabi and adopting a less rigid chronology for the early Kassite kings. As the documents of Mālamir and of Susa overlap considerably the end of the First Babylonian Dynasty, the gap between the two periods would be greatly reduced by the latter chronology. The Mālamir texts show that there were about ten of a dynasty, known by the titles *sukkal* or *sukkalmah*, who ruled in Elam after Kuknashur I, the contemporary of Ammišaduqa. It is in this period that the texts of Mālamir are to be placed.² These are more or less homogeneous and date from the same period.³ To judge from their syllabary, they belong to the time of Tan-Uli or Temti-khalki—that is, according to the chronology here adopted, to the middle of the seventeenth century. And lastly the recent excavations in Susiana would seem to indicate that the intervention of Kurigalzu in Elam occurred very soon after the end of the period of the *sukkalmah*. From this we can deduce that the fading-out of Susa was short,⁴ and certainly much shorter than the obscure period in contemporary Mesopotamia.

Despite this, the texts from Mālamir do not fail to reflect the ethnic changes that were taking place throughout the entire Near East. Even though Babylonian traditions are still prevalent, the proper names bear witness to new elements. Certain of the attested names could be Hurrian, while others could be Kassite, Lullian, Gutian or Subarian. They indicate that Susiana was directly affected by the invaders, and it is likely that there was a considerable Hurrian proportion among these.

Excavations in Iran have not, indeed, as yet discovered the

¹ See §1, 8, 2 ff., and *C.A.H.* 1³, pt. 1, pp. 218, 234 f.

² *Mém. D.P.* 8, 169 ff., nos. 1–16, re-edited in *Mém. D.P.* 22, *passim*.

³ Except perhaps no. 15 (*Mém. D.P.* 22, 76).

⁴ Mlle M. Rutten (*Mém. D.P.* 31, 155 ff. and table, 166) proposes to cancel this gap altogether.

pottery characteristic of sites on the Khabur, which in other places (Alalakh or Ras Shamra), seems to trace an expansion of the Hurrians. But their presence in Elam seems to be proved by certain particularities of the Elamite syllabary shortly after this period,¹ perhaps by the seals,² and certainly by the proper names.³ Moreover, certain native princes already have names with the component *-halki*,⁴ which, whatever its origin,⁵ evidently belongs to the Hurrians. The question of these foreign elements, their actual proportion, their influence, and how they arrived in Elam, remains to be answered.

Such information as we possess concerning Elam, from the intermediate period, is of only the slightest importance for history. It concerns an assault upon Elamite territory made by the last king of the Sea-Land, Ea-gamil, who was later defeated by the Kassite Ulamburiash, brother of Kashtiliash.⁶ Such a brief allusion certainly does not warrant the hypothesis⁷ that Ulamburiash, at this opportunity, took possession of Elam and extended Kassite rule even to the extreme south of the country.

It is not in fact until the time of Kurigalzu II that Elamite history comes to light again. A late Babylonian chronicle tells of a conflict between Kurigalzu II and the contemporary 'king of Elam' Khurpatila.⁸ Whatever misgivings we may have about the way the chronicle presents these events, the facts themselves are above suspicion, since the victorious campaign of Kurigalzu II against Susa and Elam is known from other sources.⁹ It is rather the figure of his opponent Khurpatila which raises doubts. Neither his name nor his reign are given in later dynastic lists, and the passage in the Chronicle is the only mention we have of

¹ In particular the use of *qa* for *ka*, which is characteristic of the Akkado-Hurrian syllabary.

² Mlle M. Rutten tells me that there is an unpublished seal from Susa in the Louvre of Hurrian origin or inspiration.

³ For example, Akkamaneni, *Mém. D.P.* 22, 86, nos. 73, 27.

⁴ Ike-khalki, Temti-khalki; and cf. Atta-khalki (*Mém. D.P.* 22, 75, 17; 149, 4, etc.).

⁵ For a Hurrian origin: J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, 147; for Indo-European: H. Pedersen, *Hiittitisch und die anderen indo-europäischen Sprachen*, 177; E. Laroche in *R.A.* 47 (1953), 41.

⁶ See §1, 5, ii, 22 ff.

⁷ See G, 6, 331 a.

⁸ Chronicle P, iii, 10 ff. (F. Delitzsch, *Die babylonische Chronik*, 45). Khurpatila is there called 'king of Elammat', whereas Elam is written with the ideogram ELAM.MA.KI in the rest of the text. For the name of Khurpatila see recently §1, I, 54.

⁹ *R.A.* 26, 7.

him.¹ However, we have at present no valid reason to reject this evidence. Khurpatila, as his name indicates, might have sprung from one of those groups of Hurrians whose existence in Susiana is revealed by study of the names. It is possible that he was able to create a short-lived kingdom on the western border of Elam, and the fact that he challenged Kurigalzu implies that he had designs on southern Babylonia, perhaps towards Nippur, around which other groups of Hurrians had already settled. Indeed, that city seems to have been somehow the prize at stake, for after his victory Kurigalzu took care to leave there, no less than at Susa, concrete evidence of his success.

Khurpatila did not strike forthwith into Mesopotamia but massed his troops instead at the stronghold of Dūr-Shulgi, on the other side of the Sea-Land, from which position he defied the Kassites to attack. In the ensuing battle he was defeated and his army routed. He then took refuge in Elam but was unable to unite an army powerful enough to oppose the advance of Kurigalzu who, taking advantage of the situation, ravaged Barakhshe and Elam and captured Susa. Khurpatila was forced to surrender. Kurigalzu celebrated his victory in Susa itself by offering an agate scaraboid to the god Ishataran² and the pommel of a sceptre to Enlil.³ On the acropolis of Susa, he dedicated a statuette of himself bearing an inscription recording the different phases of his conquest.⁴ When he returned to Babylonia, he brought back from Susa an agate tablet which had once been dedicated to Inanna 'for the life of Shulgi' and presented it to the god Enlil of Nippur⁵ with a new dedicatory inscription.

Despite the wide extent of Kurigalzu's victorious campaign and his occupation of Susa, the interior provinces of Elam seem to have escaped this fate, the political conditions of Elam being different from those in Mesopotamia. The geography of Elam does not lend itself to political unity, and as soon as the bond of a firm central authority holding the country together disappears or is relaxed the different provinces tend to separate and to live their own lives. These conditions probably prevailed during the period for which we have no texts and indeed at the time of

¹ E. Unger, in *Forsch. u. Fortschr.* 10 (1934), 256, purported to have found the existence of Khurpatila proved by its occurrence upon a business document from Nippur which he believed to be dated by his fourth regnal year as 'king of Babylon'. But F. R. Kraus, in *J.C.S.* 3 (1951), 12, has shown that the reading was wrong, and that there is nothing about Khurpatila in that text.

² *Mém. D.P.* 6, 30; 7, 135. The god's name is written KA.DI.

³ *Mém. D.P.* 14, 32.

⁴ *R.A.* 26, 7.

⁵ § 1, 3, no. 15, no. 73, and p. 31.

Khurpatila himself. This prince of foreign origin could hardly have ruled over more than Susiana and the western borders of the country, notwithstanding his title 'king of Elam', because for the Babylonians 'king of Elam' meant simply the ruler of Susa. Moreover, Kurigalzu's campaign in Elam, other than at Susa, must have passed over Barakhshe and some other districts like a sudden but momentary shock, so we are not surprised that, almost on the morrow of the defeat, there was already a resurgence of nationalism in the interior of the country which would soon, under vigorous leaders, give birth to a new native dynasty. Extending their authority step by step, successive rulers found their own advantage in restoring the unity of Elam, and out of this they created an empire which soon made its weight felt in the balance of powers arrayed in the Near East. This national resurgence was also to be favoured by circumstances, for the Babylonians became uneasy at the fresh aggressive tendencies of Assyria under Arik-dēn-ili (1319-1308) and Adad-nirāri I (1307-1275) and turned their gaze away from a land which they might think subdued towards frontiers more immediately threatened.

Later native sources attributed the founding of this dynasty to a certain Ike-khalki. Seeing that the dynastic lists name him only as the father of the first two actual kings he was probably a local chieftain who never himself came to the throne. His native country is unknown although certain indications point to the region of Mālamīr. The texts from this place contain several allusions to a person called Attar-kittakh, son of Atta-khalki,¹ and these names seem to belong to the same family descent as those of Ike-khalki and his second son Attar-kittakh. The name of the father, Ike-khalki, might suggest that the new royal family was, as in the case of Khurpatila, closely related to the Hurrians of Elam.

In any case, the real founder of the dynasty was Pakhirishshan, a son of Ike-khalki: he ruled probably during the time of Nazimaruttash (1323-1298). He has left no inscriptions of his own but we know from later texts that he was active in the district of Aakhitek² (still unlocated), and that he erected some monument in honour of the god In-Shushinak. The stele of dedication was transported to Susa by one of his successors, Shilkhak-In-Shushinak.³

¹ *Mém. D.P.* 22, 75, 17; 149, 4, etc.

² Inscription of Shutruk-Nahhunte, §1, 4, no. 28, line 24. The nature of this activity is still uncertain; the hypothesis of G, 2, 106, n. 6 (transport of valuable timber) is difficult to accept, for the word under discussion can designate only living beings or objects assimilated to these.

³ §1, 4, no. 49; §1, 6, 26 ff.

Concerning his brother and successor Attar-kittakh, who was probably contemporary with the Babylonian king Kadashman-Turgu (1297–1280), the same later texts show that he extended to Susa the operations which his brother had confined to the province of Aakhitek. Two maces have been found at Susa¹ inscribed with his name. On the first he styles himself 'king of Susa and Anzan'; on the second, an original inscription—'Attar-kittakh, son of Ike-khalki'—is partly covered by a later dedication inscribed at the command of Untash-(d)GAL.

It was during the reign of his son, Khumban-numena (c. 1285–1266), that this Elamite renewal proved itself decisively. The name of this king is frequently mentioned by his successors who, symbolically, attach him to the great royal line issuing from the great and glorious Shilkhakha. Several of his royal inscriptions, in Elamite, are known to us and his titles attest the extent of his personal power.² His title in western style—'king of Anzan and Susa'—is here preceded by a series of native titles (*merri*, *katri* and *halmeni* of Elam), which no doubt define the nature of the sovereignty he exercised over the provincial tribes. The epithet 'expander of the empire' is probably more characteristic, as it alludes to the victorious campaigns which allowed him to extend the kingdom that he inherited. Susa was already part of this empire as is indicated by the title 'king of Anzan and Susa', which was also used by his father. A bead inscribed with his name was found in a well of the sixth city of Susa, and the later texts show that he had a temple built in honour of In-Shushinak in Susa. However, it was some four hundred kilometres to the south-east, at Liyan, that his inscriptions were found; they are foundation-deposits celebrating the construction of various sanctuaries. This does not prove that Liyan was the capital of the kingdom, as archaeological evidence discloses that it was a place of little importance, established in an area of backward culture, probably no more than a stronghold designed to protect the southern frontier of the empire. Susa was probably not at that time the real capital of Elam, and the site where Khumban-numena established his capital is as yet unknown, though it may have been in the province of Anzan, the position and extent of which is still a subject of dispute.

Khumban-numena was succeeded by his son, Untash-

¹ I am indebted to Mlle M. Rutten for this information.

² G, I, 1, no. 4c (= *Mém. D.P.* 15, 42 ff.); *Z.D.M.G.* 49, 693 ff. and various fragments in Berlin.

(d)GAL¹ who was probably the contemporary of Shalmaneser I of Assyria (1274-1245) and the Babylonians Kadashman-Enlil (1279-1265) and Kudur-Enlil (1263-1255). It was during his reign, which probably lasted some twenty years that the dynasty founded by Ike-khalki reached its apogee. Numerous temples and many stelae and statues are proof of his building activities. Some of these stones were found at Susa² but even more at Chogha-Zanbil,³ 42 kilometres to the south-east, where the city of Dūr-Untash is situated, founded by and named after Untash-(d)GAL. This is confirmed by a foundation-deposit recently discovered in its ruins.⁴ A holy city built around a monumental sanctuary, Dūr-Untash was undoubtedly the religious centre of that period and the main residence of Untash-(d)GAL. Despite this Susa was not neglected. It grew continually in importance during his reign and consequently the kingdom opened out more and more towards the west. His predecessors seem to have entertained a fear of their western neighbours and thus refrained from making any show of force along these frontiers, but Untash-(d)GAL, much more confident in his might, did not hesitate to restore to Susa something of its ancient glory. He had, perhaps, always foreseen Susa, as did the ancient kings, as a base for future operations against Babylonia. For the greater part of his reign, however, Elam seems to have been at peace with its neighbours and there is no proof, at present, that the material wealth which he must have possessed for his extensive building projects in the cities of his realm resulted from booty taken in successful wars.

If so, Untash-(d)GAL was biding his time. The reign of Kashtiliash IV and the subsequent apparent weakening of Kassite strength gave him the opportunity of sweeping into Mesopotamia. A mutilated statue of a Babylonian god, brought

¹ The second element of the name Untash-(d)GAL is a logogram meaning 'God-Great'. It is probably the epithet of a major god in the Elamite pantheon. Some scholars (in particular, §1, 4, 95) assert that the god is *Khu(m)ban* and that therefore the name of the king should read Untash-*Khu(m)ban*. This is probably true, but not certain (see below, p. 404). Because of this doubt I continue to use the formal writing Untash-(d)GAL and Unpatar-(d)GAL.

² Their Elamite inscriptions are collected and transliterated by Hüsing in §1, 4, 44 ff., nos. 5 ff. For their Akkadian inscriptions see below, p. 386, n. 3.

³ *Mém. D.P.* 28, 29 ff., nos. 16 f.; *Mém. D.P.* 32, 19 ff., nos. 3 ff. Since this publication by M. Rutten around twenty new texts have been found in the latest excavations and they will be published in a future volume of *Mém. D.P.*

⁴ Excavations of 1958-9. The inscription on this stone seems to prove that Chogha-Zanbil is actually Dūr-Untash: 'I built the city of Untash-(d)GAL and (its) *siyankuk*' (for the possible meaning of this term see below, p. 410, n. 2).

back as booty by Untash-(d)GAL, has been unearthed in the ruins of Susa,¹ provided with an Akkadian inscription to commemorate its capture. In addition to the name of the god Immeria (Imerum, a local form of the god Adad), the inscription mentioned its origin or to whom it belonged. But this name is broken and only the following can be seen, ...*li-ia-aš*. It has been commonly held that it is the end of the name of the Kassite king Kashtiliash IV and that Imerum was his personal god. This interpretation is far from being certain, for a reading [Tup]liash (a Babylonian city) is also possible and perhaps preferable.² If so, it would mean that booty was brought back from a victorious expedition led by the Elamite king against the border province west of the Uqnû river, the present Kerkhah. Even if this were only a swift raid without lasting results it proves at least that Elam had emerged from its long isolation and was not afraid to confront its western neighbours.

Elam was once again open to Semitic influence. Babylonian deities formerly worshipped were not excluded from the national pantheon and the native gods had Akkadian epithets. The temples were modelled on the massive stepped towers of the holy cities of Mesopotamia. Many official documents were written in Akkadian, the international language of the day.³ If their syllabary includes a few local variations, their syntax is none the less classical and shows a high degree of Mesopotamian culture on the part of the Elamite scribes. This borrowing from a foreign civilization does not mean that national sentiment weakened. The native language was preponderant in dedications proclaiming the piety and greatness of the 'king of Anzan and Susa'.

Untash-(d)GAL was succeeded by Unpatar-(d)GAL, who was not his son. The later dynastic lists give one Pakhir-ishshan as his father, without indicating whether or not this was the same person as the like-named grandfather of his predecessor; if so Unpatar-(d)GAL would have been the uncle of Untash-(d)GAL. This is not impossible but very unlikely, for Kidin-Khutran, the

¹ *Mém. D.P.* 10, 85.

² This suggestion of Dr E. Reiner was communicated by Dr M. Rowton; see *C.A.H.* 13, pt. 1, p. 218. A synchronism with Kashtiliash would require the reign of Untash-(d)GAL to be lowered in time by some twenty years. The *kudurru* of Agaptakha may best be dated in this king's reign, as indicated below in relation to Kidin-Khutran.

³ *Mém. D.P.* 28, nos. 16, 17, p. 32, nos. A, B, C (= *Mém. D.P.* 32, 1 and 11). Since this last publication ten or so Akkadian texts have been found at Chogha-Zanbil. The inscription of Untash-(d)GAL on a statue of the god Immeria is also in Akkadian.

brother and successor of Unpatar-(d)GAL, would also have been a son of the same Pakhir-ishshan, and the interval seems too long. There is no evidence that dynastic changes were caused by internal upheavals following upon the death of Untash-(d)GAL, nor is there proof that the queen Napirasu ruled over Elam for a year after the death of her husband. We have only one inscription of hers, upon her bronze statue.¹ Apart from the usual maledictions against profaners, it gives only her name and her title 'wife of Untash-(d)GAL'.

Whether owing to old age or a short reign, Unpatar-(d)GAL (c. 1245) was not as active as his predecessor. He was incapable of intervention in events taking place even a short distance from his borders. In this period Assyria was forcefully renewing its policy of expansion in the Zagros and towards the Persian Gulf. Tukulti-Ninurta I led a victorious expedition from the mountain Tarsina, on the southern bank of the Lesser Zab, as far as the land of Guti, between the regions Zuqushki and Lallar.² He then marched south into Babylon, attacked Kashtiliash and took him prisoner, annexing to his own land a whole series of cities which had been the subject of rival claims by the Babylonians and the Elamites. Elam had to abandon to Assyrian control the cities of Turna-suma, in the region of Me-Turnat, and Ulaiaash near the source of Kerkhah, not far from the present-day Mandali.³ All these events are known to us from Assyrian sources. The only Elamite sources for the reign of Unpatar-(d)GAL, two texts of a later date, mention only the restoration of a sanctuary of In-Shushinak at Susa, on which work had been done by several previous kings.

On the death of Unpatar-(d)GAL, his brother Kidin-Khutran came to the throne and ruled for some twenty years (c. 1242-1222). Either because he succeeded in rallying the military forces of his kingdom or because he was less faint-hearted than his brother, the new king reverted to the aggressive policy of Untash-(d)GAL and openly opposed the Assyrian conqueror. Tukulti-Ninurta had installed one of his followers, Enlil-nādin-shumi, on the throne of Babylon after the death of Kashtiliash. Kidin-Khutran, taking advantage of this puppet ruler, swept suddenly into lower Mesopotamia. He crossed the Tigris and, marching towards the centre of the country, seized Nippur and massacred the population; then, turning north, he recrossed the Tigris and sacked Dēr,

¹ *Mém. D.P.* 8, 245 ff. and pl. 15; *Mém. D.P.* 5, 1 ff., no. 65; §1, 4, 50, no. 16.

² Cf. §1, 9, 1, iv, 25 ff.; 17 ff., etc.

³ §1, 9, 16, 73 ff., and 27 f., note (ll. 66-82).

destroying the famous temple E-dimgal-kalamma and taking the inhabitants into captivity. The Babylonian king was forced to flee and lost his sovereignty over this whole area.

But the Elamite victory was short-lived. Tukulti-Ninurta took immediate counter-measures and re-established the position in Babylonia to his own advantage. After installing first the Kassite Kadashman-Kharbe, and then, eighteen months later, the Babylonian Adad-shuma-iddina (1224–1219), he kept a constant vigil over this land which he regarded as a kind of Assyrian protectorate. For this reason presumably Kidin-Khutran avoided any further aggressive action. It was only when Adad-shuma-ušur (1218–1189) had become king in Babylon that he judged the time ripe for a new attempt. On this occasion, encouraged by his previous success, he advanced further, crossed the Tigris, seized Isin and went north as far as Marad, west of Nippur. There alone, it seems, did he meet resistance but he defeated his adversaries and returned to Elam without encountering further resistance.

It was probably during his first or second campaign in Babylonia¹ that he brought back as booty to Susa the *kudurru*² on which were inscribed the proprietorial rights to a domain near the city of Padan that Kashtiliash had granted to a certain Agaptakha. We know that this city is to be located between the Turnat (Diyālā) river and the mountain Yalman; that is, on the north-eastern border of Babylonia. Previously the Kassite king Agum-kakrime had asserted his suzerainty over the city by calling himself 'king of Padan and Alman'. But the Elamites had never ceased to claim that this territory was an integral part of greater Elam and in taking this stele the Elamite king was probably reasserting, symbolically, his suzerainty over the territory constantly in dispute between the Babylonians, Assyrians and Elamites.

This reconstruction of the course of events has to be based on Assyrian and Babylonian sources.³ As yet no contemporary Elamite documents of the time of Kidin-Khutran have been found in the excavations. Some later references mention only the restoration by him of the temple of In-Shushinak at Susa and the temple of Kiririsha at Liyan.⁴ If the interpretation of this latter, mutilated,

¹ See, however, p. 386, n. 2.

² *Mém. D.P.* 2, 95 and pl. 20.

³ Chronicle P, iv, 14 ff., now in §1, 9, no. 37.

⁴ §1, 4, no. 48 (*Mém. D.P.* 5, no. LXXI, 29 f.; §1, 4, no. 48 B (*Mém. D.P.* 5, no. xcvi), 37; §1, 4, Liyan (?), no. 49 (*Mém. D.P.* 5, no. LXXVI), 12.

text is correct it would tend to prove that Kidin-Khutran had firmly re-established Elam up to its southernmost borders. This would account for the boldness of his enterprises in Babylonia. He challenged, in fact, not merely the Babylonians, whose weakness at this time is well known, but Assyrian power, impelled by Tukulti-Ninurta, whose aim it was to establish his influence as far as the shores of the Persian Gulf. In the clash of these two ambitions, Kidin-Khutran was twice successful, due probably to the advantage of surprise attack, but the issue was finally decided in favour of the Assyrians. Tukulti-Ninurta lost no time in avenging his early setbacks and marched triumphantly 'to the southern shores of the Lower Sea'.

It is possible that this expedition brought Kidin-Khutran's reign to an end, perhaps by giving rise to a revolt in Elam. He disappears, in any case, from the political scene and several years passed before a new king ascended the throne. With him, the Anzanite dynasty founded by Ike-khalki came to an end, in all probability overthrown.

II. ARCHITECTURE AND THE ARTS

All the information concerning military and political affairs during this period of Elamite history comes, as has been stated, from foreign sources. It is very likely that Elamite kings had accounts of their victorious campaigns inscribed on stelae as their successors did later, and there is mention of several such campaigns in later inscriptions; but so far no such document has been found and only bricks recording the foundation of buildings have been discovered. These enable us to form a fairly precise idea of a different aspect of the rule of these kings—their building activities, an important guide to the development of civilization in the land. Although we know that nearly all the kings of this dynasty built or restored temples at Susa or in the other cities of the empire, the only inscribed bricks found belong to the time of Khumban-numena and Untash-(*d*)GAL and they all concern the construction or the repair of religious buildings. The bricks themselves, especially those of Untash-(*d*)GAL, are beautiful, well-baked and superior in manufacture to those of the period of the *ensi* and *sukkal* rulers.

At Chogha-Zanbil there are whole friezes of these very fine bricks which, inside and outside, follow the contours of the walls. The number of the inscribed bands varies according to the height of the building. They are usually repeated at every ten layers of

bricks.¹ The inscription on these bricks is always short and identical, giving the name of the founder, his genealogy, title, and the simple statement 'I have built such and such a building for such a deity and have given it to him'. Sometimes they have curses against anyone who might desecrate the building, an invocation of the god's blessing upon the king's work, or even a prayer for the prosperity of his reign and a long life.

We have several of such documents of Khumban-numena. We learn from them that this king built a sanctuary in the city of Liyan dedicated to the god Khumban (*GAL*) and his consort Kiririsha, and to the Pakhakhutep who were probably old protector-gods of the place. Several later kings, especially Shilkhak-In-Shushinak, refer to this foundation and also mention a chapel built at Liyan by Khumban-numena, dedicated exclusively to Kiririsha, and repairs done at Susa to the temple of In-Shushinak.

The pious works associated with the name of Untash-(*d*)*GAL* were a good deal more numerous. At Susa, if the bricks found there all actually belonged in buildings erected in the city, he built or restored some twenty sanctuaries. As much attention was paid to Babylonian gods, traditionally worshipped in the city—Nabu, Sin, Adad, his consort Shala, *NIN-URU*—as to the Elamite deities—In-Shushinak, Khumban, Nahhunte, Pinikir, Khishmitik, Rukhuratir, Pelala, Napratep, Shimut, Nazit, Upurkupak, and so forth.² For each of them he had a new statue sculptured in stone or cast in metal placed in the appropriate temple. Of these temples about a dozen already existed in the city, for Untash-(*d*)*GAL* states that he had them rebuilt on their original sites. In about an equal number of cases it is not clear whether the inscription records a new foundation or not; but at any rate in the case of the goddess Upurkupak he claims to have been the first to build a temple expressly for her, as there had never been one in the capital, and he made several additions to the temple of In-Shushinak. A certain number of these sanctuaries must have been of modest proportions, built most often of sun-dried brick, sometimes with a glazed-brick façade. Some, indeed, were no more than secondary shrines, small chapels which were part of the interior plan of one of the great temples. Of these the most important was certainly that dedicated to the combined cults of Khumban and In-Shushinak.

¹ In the zikkurats there are seven of these inscribed friezes in place, and three on the walls of another building.

² For references, see G, 2, 102f.

Dominating all of these sacred buildings by its size was the zikkurra of Susa which stood at that time on the acropolis of the city. It was built along the lines of the zikkurras of Nippur, Babylon and the other sacred cities of Mesopotamia. The presence of numerous inscribed bricks identical with those that can still be seen in the walls of the zikkurra at Chogha-Zanbil prove that Untash-(d)GAL built or restored a like structure at Susa. At its top stood the upper temple which the Elamites called *kukunnu*, a name which could also be applied to the whole zikkurra.¹ This edifice had existed at Susa for a long time before that date. A predecessor, Kuknashur, claimed that he built or restored 'a *kukunnu* of baked bricks on the acropolis of In-Shushinak'.² The merit of Untash-(d)GAL was to have replaced this covering of baked bricks by enamelled plaques in iridescent colours.³ In the upper chapel he had erected, as well as a statue of the god, a statue of himself on the pedestal of which was a bilingual inscription commemorating the restoration of the edifice and consigning any profaners to the wrath of the gods. The acropolis was surrounded by a sacred wall and one of its towers was called, as at Chogha-Zanbil, *nūr kibrāti*, 'light of the (four) regions (of the world)'.

The building activities of the king were not confined to Susa. It would appear in fact that the greater part of his pious preoccupations were in another important religious centre of his kingdom, at the city that he founded and to which he gave his name, Dūr-Untash, on the site now called Chogha-Zanbil. All of the many bricks found there have his name on them and many of them commemorate the building of the city's monumental stage-tower. As at Susa, it was dedicated to the joint cult of Khumban and In-Shushinak, but each had a private chapel as well. It was this zikkurra that Untash-(d)GAL described thus: 'I built and dedicated to the gods Khumban and In-Shushinak a *kukunnu* with bricks enamelled in silver and gold, and with white obsidian and alabaster.'⁴ In one of the rooms he hung a lyre to which he gave the significant style 'glorification of my name'.⁵

Other bricks from here mention sanctuaries dedicated to the

¹ For this Sumerian loanword which corresponds with the Akkadian *gigunū*, cf. *C.A.D.* 5, 67 ff.

² *Mém. D.P.* 6, 28, 5.

³ Resembling those used at Chogha-Zanbil (*Mém. D.P.* 28, 31, no. 17).

⁴ *Mém. D.P.* 28, no. 17 (= *Mém. D.P.* 32, no. 11; cf. *C.A.D.* 5, 68 b for this text).

⁵ *Mém. D.P.* 28, no. 16 (= *Mém. D.P.* 32, no. 1; cf. W. von Soden, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, 98 b (lyre or harp)).

goddesses Ishme-karab, Kiririsha, Pinikir, Manzat, Inanna and Bēlit; to the gods Napratep, Nabu, Shiashum, Khumban, Sunkir-Risharra, Kilakh-supir, and to the divine partners Khishmitik and Rukhuratir, Shimut and *NIN-URU*, Adad and Shala, Shushmushi and Bēlit.¹ As at Susa, some of these chapels were certainly situated within the big temple. There were also other chapels outside the first wall and especially in front of the north-west side. There, in a conglomeration of ruined buildings, a bronze hoe dedicated to the god Nabu was found, thus indicating the location of this god's sanctuary.² Further on, an important building was dedicated to the goddess Kiririsha and an adjoining building of similar importance to the goddess Ishme-karab. This sacred complex formed the acropolis of Dūr-Untash and was undoubtedly called *Siyankuk*.

At Liyan, M. Pézard carried out excavations on a mound where Dr Andreas had previously discovered inscribed foundation bricks in the remains of two walls forming a corner. These walls have since disappeared and the archaeological results were meagre. Apart from traces of pavements consisting of plain slabs, there were only remains of very roughly constructed walls; the building work done there was inferior to that in Susiana. The impression thus conveyed is confirmed by the presence of primitive-looking rows of stones which perhaps once formed the backing for mere banks of rammed earth. In general, the remains point to a provincial or archaic technique, or to the work of a local population not far advanced above the stage of barbarism.³

At Susa, bricks of Untash-(d)GAL were found inserted in the walls and pavements of a later date, contemporary with Shilkhak-In-Shushinak; the positions in which they were found show that they were not serving their original purpose but had been gathered from older buildings when these were demolished to make way for new temples. The foundation levels of buildings put up by Untash-(d)GAL ought then to be found more or less immediately below the level in which these bricks were placed, but the excavations revealed only insignificant remains at that depth. The most important of these remains was simply a long wall, without inscriptions, 2 metres high, with panels jutting and

¹ A certain number of these names should be added to the list of deities of Chogha-Zanbil published by M. Rutten in *Mém. D.P.* 32, 8–9. The non-existent name *Akkipish is a misinterpretation of *Mém. D.P.* 32, xviii, no. 1, 3 and should be eliminated.

² R. de Mecquenem and G. Dossin, 'La marre de Nabu', in *R.A.* 35, 129 ff., and cf. *Mém. D.P.* 33, 56 f. See below, pp. 409 f.

³ M. Pézard, 'Fouilles de Bender-Boushir (Liyan)', in *Mém. D.P.* 15.

recessed to an extent of 20 centimetres; this may have been the façade of a wall of unbaked brick. The decoration, either within or without, can only have been slight, for the fragments of decorated relief that can be attributed to the time of Untash-(d)GAL are few and of very little interest. However, it is possible that the other ornamental motifs and the enamelled decorations were, like the inscribed bricks, pulled out and collected for re-use by later kings.

A much more impressive sight, even today, are the ruins of Chogha-Zanbil. Even in Babylonia there are few sites possessing a zikkurrať as grandiose and as well preserved.

The city is located forty-two kilometres south-east of Susa; built on a prominence, it dominates the meandering river Āb-i Diz. The remains, which were found in 1935, at first received only a few superficial soundings. A zikkurrať was identified in the débris of a large mound and along its north-western side a number of other buildings were superficially unearthed. These were later seen to be part of a complex of temples.¹ It was not until 1951 that this site was systematically excavated under the direction of R. Ghirshman. As yet the complete results have not been published but the preliminary reports and articles by R. Ghirshman² give us a fairly clear idea of the site. It takes the form of three concentric enclosures. The outer wall, a quadrangle, measures about 1200 by 800 metres and was probably the defensive-wall of the city. Back from this is a square (400 metres square) within which again was the third enclosure which contains the zikkurrať and its surrounding parvis. It is with the zikkurrať that the excavations started and it is completely unearthed today.

It was seen almost immediately that the zikkurrať of Chogha-Zanbil was quite different from the zikkurrats of Mesopotamia.³ These differences arise both from the method of construction and the planning of certain parts. At Chogha-Zanbil it is an almost perfect square which measures 105 metres each side and it is oriented by its angles. Two storeys and part of the third were uncovered from the surrounding rubble, thus allowing a reconstruction of its original height and showing the stages of its construction. A sort of foundation, 1 metre high and 3 metres wide, encloses the zikkurrať at its base. Solidly constructed, it could be an actual foundation but its real purpose was to protect

¹ The results of these first excavations were published by R. de Mecquenem and J. Michalon, 'Recherches à Tchoga-Zembil', in *Mém. D.P.* 33.

² See § 11, 1; and see Plate 156 (e).

³ Already during the third campaign, cf. R. Ghirshman in *Arts Asiatiques*, 1 (1954), 83 ff.

the base of the zikkurrat against the infiltration of water. Above this, in successively receding steps, stood four storeys, the fourth of which supported the upper platform and the temple which crowned the edifice. At each storey the base of the wall was protected by a smaller version of the foundation at the base of the zikkurrat.

The first storey rises 8 metres above the parvis; the second 11.55 metres, and the third and fourth, which no longer exist, were probably of the same height.¹ Thus the bottom of the temple on the summit was about 43 metres above the ground, and the whole structure must have been about 52.60 metres in height.² The upper storeys were solid masses 8 metres thick, consisting of a core of crude bricks with a facing of baked bricks. But the first, the lowest, storey is of a quite different design, and the discovery of rooms made within the mass has revealed the different phases in the building of this tower.

Originally the edifice which was to be the first storey was a quadrilateral built around a courtyard. The north-east side, thicker than the others (12 metres instead of 8), contained a double row of rooms, with the inner rooms opening through a doorway into the courtyard. Another group of rooms lay in the southern part of the south-east side, and communicated with the courtyard by another monumental door. Inscribed bricks found in the walls here show that this group of rooms formed a temple of the god In-Shushinak. To the east of this side there was another sanctuary of the god, opening this time not upon the courtyard, but externally upon the parvis of the zikkurrat. Apart from these two temples of In-Shushinak the other rooms cannot be identified and we have no texts concerning them. The other rooms do not have windows and those which have no doors to the court are entered by a narrow stairway from above. The walls were white-washed with great care. Most of the rooms were empty but one had jars in it and two others, in the north-west corner, were filled with baked clay objects shaped like mushrooms with glazed heads.

The existence of the temple of In-Shushinak with its façade of inscribed bricks thus shows that the original construction was limited to this one storey and that it was not until some time later that the other storeys were added. When the other storeys were constructed those rooms that open into the courtyard were

¹ See § 11, 3, 25.

² If the Elamite cubit—deduced from the dimensions and proportions of Chogha-Zanbil—was in fact 0.526 metre. Thus the zikkurrat should have measured 100 cubits in height and 200 cubits on each side at the base.

condemned and filled in with unbaked bricks and their doors were closed off by the mass of the zikkurrat.

At its finished height its last storey must have measured 35 metres on each side, which was large enough to accommodate the temple that crowned the construction. Nothing is left today of this upper part of the zikkurrat, but its remains are strewn along the slopes down as far as the parvis where they can be found today.¹ In particular, inscribed bricks from the summit of a special form. have been found, which commemorate the construction of the *kukunnu*.² The precious materials of which they speak, bricks of gold and silver, are undoubtedly the bricks glazed with metallic hues, fragments of which were found in the débris. The upper temple was plainly the residence of the god.

Communication between the parvis and the top of the tower was by a series of stairways opened in the zikkurrat. A door was built in each of the four sides. But only the stairway on the south-west side went beyond the first storey, thus giving access to the second storey. The rest of the ascent was probably made alternatively by each of the other sides. This means of ascent differentiates it clearly from the Mesopotamian zikkurrats. There are other but less important differences. For instance, the drainage system depends on a vertical system of gutters at each landing which channel off the rainwater from the zikkurrat; in Babylonia drainage is effected by successive layers of reeds. The clay of the bricks is homogeneous and not reinforced with débris and sherds as in Babylonia. The door arches are constructed in an original manner by an irregular alternation of wedge-shaped bricks and complete bricks.

The zikkurrat is surrounded by large paved parvises of different kinds which are about 20 metres wide. On the north-east side, near the central stairway, there is a ramp between the parvis and the base of the tower. At the northern angle of this ramp there is a circular construction, which can also be found at the north-western and south-western doors. These have four symmetrically placed niches and the whole is decorated by rings of inscribed bricks. The wording of these bricks does not help us to identify their purpose.³ Another problem is set by the fourteen small square socles, made up of five bricks, one of which forms the top, which

¹ *Mém. D.P.* 32, nos. II, VI-IX.

² In the Akkadian inscriptions, at least, this is the word used. The corresponding Elamite word is *ulhi*, which is applied to the royal residence in the Achaemenid period. It is difficult to say whether these two words have the same meaning.

³ *Mém. D.P.* 32, no. v.

face the south-east stairway. They are probably too small and too fragile to be used as tables or altars for sacrifices. The zikkurrat and the parvises are surrounded by an enclosure with angular projections. On the north-west and the south-west sides the enclosure wall is double and forms rooms. Between these rooms, where there is a single wall, the resulting opening is like a gallery which faces the ramp rising from the parvis to the second storey.

On the north-west side, starting from the northern angle, three temples as a group break the line of the enclosure and spread out over the parvis. The first, completely outside the enclosure, is a sanctuary of the 'Great God', (*d*)*GAL*; a paved passage runs between it and a large door which opens out on to the parvis. The two others, farther west and straddling the line of the enclosure are large adjoining temples dedicated, respectively, to the deities Ishme-karab and Kiririsha. These two temples are separated by three rooms in the form of a T. It was here that the bronze hoe of Nabu was found during the first excavations.¹ These three temples in their simplest form are planned in the same way: a courtyard, on one side of which there is the antecella and cella and on the other side a number of annexes. In the temple of Kiririsha, other buildings—probably workshops and storehouses—were added.

Outside the inner enclosure which surrounds the zikkurrat is another area, 130 metres in breadth, which is circumscribed by the second wall. This wall has three gates, one on the north-east line, the second on the south-east side and the third on the south-west side. The latter two, called the 'Royal Way' and the 'Gate of Susa' by the excavator, both have the same inscription which seems to give a list of the various royal foundations in this holy quarter of the city. Towards the south there is a tower with its frieze of inscribed bricks still in place. They seem to indicate that this tower was the 'Light of the Regions'.²

The remains of four other temples were found in the eastern corner and their inscriptions allow us to identify the gods to whom they were dedicated. The first is the sanctuary of the goddess Pini-kir; the following two of the divine pair, Adad—Shala and Shimut—*NIN-URU*; and the fourth of a divine group, the Napratep. From the results of the excavations it might be concluded

¹ *Mém. D.P.* 33, 57.

² *nūr kibrāti*. It is consequently very doubtful whether this term means the zikkurrat, as has been supposed. The text was published in *Mém. D.P.* 32, no. III. The same inscription has been found on bricks at Susa, cf. *Mém. D.P.* 3, no. XVIII and p. 32.

that the area between the two inner walls was reserved for religious buildings.

Between the second wall and the outside enclosure was the site of the city itself or at least this space was reserved for it, for it seems in fact that the city was never finished. In this whole area the only things found were the remains of three palaces, the remains of a private house (near the northern angle of the area) and a few individual or family tombs. These tombs look like a well but they branch off at the bottom into a vaulted room. The first palace (I)¹ was a building of very large dimensions. Its rooms, one of which contained some beautiful ivories, give on to a large courtyard which is partly paved. On the west side, contrary to the usual disposition, the rooms have their long side on the courtyard, and it was under some of these rooms that the most remarkable discovery was made. Several stairways leading into subterranean rooms were found, access to them being very carefully disguised by a filling of baked bricks, the last courses of which were cemented by a thick coat of plaster and bitumen. Six metres below, the stairs lead into vaulted rooms about 17 metres long and 4 metres wide and high. The vault as well as the head of the door are fully arched and made of matching baked bricks which are covered with a layer of plaster. There is a sort of brick funerary couch in one of these tombs on which there was an intact skeleton and the remains of two burnt bodies. In a neighbouring tomb were some small heaps of ashes and bones of carbonized bodies placed directly on the floor in groups of two, four and five. This is the only evidence we have of cremation in Elam.

The other two palaces are in the eastern angle of the area. Although they do not have underground rooms their general aspect indicates that they were much larger than the first. Each one contains two large courtyards around which are situated four suites with several rooms in each. One of these was a bathroom with a low plaster-covered basin, the drains passing out under the walls. Near the third palace a trench containing different-sized and well-preserved alabaster urns was found.

To the south-west of palace I are the remains of the only religious building found in the 'urban' zone. This building, the inscription of which shows that it was dedicated to Nusku, is rather odd in appearance, being built like a T. The bar of the T is a long vestibule while its leg is a paved court with a pedestal of unbaked brick at the far end. It seems, judging from the distance

¹ Discovered in 1958-9.

between the walls and the lack of remains, that this building did not have a roof.

The outer wall had only one monumental gate, situated near the eastern angle of the wall, and made up of two gate-houses which face each other across a large paved square courtyard. In each gate-house there is a long paved room which was perhaps the guard room. On large bricks the inscriptions 'gate of the king', 'great gate' and 'gate of justice' were found. On the north-west face of the wall there was an ingenious system for bringing in water; along the outside of the wall was a reservoir which received water from a nearby canal. A system of small pipes, in nine steps, brought the water up from the reservoir under the wall into a basin along the inner side of the wall. The surface of the reservoir and the basin are at the same level, but the basin is not as deep as the reservoir. Thus by using the principle of water seeking its own level they were able to bring up water from one to the other while leaving any sediment behind.

The excavations at Chogha-Zanbil have furnished us with much precious information on Elamite architecture at the time of Untash-(d)GAL, on building materials, planning, systems of measurement, use of the arch and the vault. In the other Elamite arts of this time it is not always easy to date remarkable examples of jewellery or figurines found in the excavations, but stone sculpture and bronze-working reach a high level. The composition and carving of a stele bearing the name of Untash-(d)GAL, now in the Louvre, is an example of contemporary Elamite sculpture in relief. Although it has survived only in a fragmentary state, it has proved possible to reconstruct the general scheme. Two long serpents with winding coils form a frame for several superimposed panels. In the uppermost the king stands with his hands outstretched to a seated goddess wearing a head-dress with three pairs of horns. The king is also represented in the next panel, in company with his queen, Napirasu. In a lower panel are semi-divine guardians. One of them preserved in its entirety is a female creature, a sort of siren, the head adorned with a pair of horns, the scaly lower body ending in two little fins that serve as feet. She holds against her breast two streams of flowing water issuing from four vases so disposed as to frame the subject, two balanced on the back-turned tips of her tail, the other two at each side of her head in the upper corners. In the bottom panel is another such semi-divine creature, with a rectangular beard and hair falling in tresses at the back; the lower part of the figure is broken off, but

the end of a tail curving backwards shows that it is another type of hybrid, half human, half animal.¹

Remains of a great many stone figures in the round have been found but so mutilated as not to allow of a just appreciation. Many limestone statues date from the time of Untash-(d)GAL. One of these represents the king, the lower part alone being extant with a bilingual inscription in Akkadian and Elamite; another statue of the king is in diorite.²

Elamite mastery of the technique of bronze-working is well illustrated for this period by the celebrated statue of the queen Napirasu.³ The headless figure stands 1·20 metres high and weighs not less than 1750 kilogrammes. The procedure used for casting such a large figure is not known and we cannot but admire the results obtained. Not having our modern high-temperature furnaces they must have had to use a considerable number of small crucibles in order to pour such a large quantity of molten metal, and it is astonishing that they could maintain a more or less constant temperature for each melting. The interior is not perfect but the exterior is remarkably well done, and this statue is a real masterpiece of ancient metallurgy. The queen stands with crossed hands, clothed in a fine embroidered dress which closely fits her shoulders and breasts. A long skirt wrapped round her waist and hanging to the ground covers the feet. The folds of the material, the embroidery, the bands and the incrustation are executed—like the jewellery on the fingers and the wrists—with great delicacy. On the flounce of the skirt an Elamite inscription invokes the anger of the gods upon anyone who may destroy, mutilate or remove the statue or efface the queen's name.

It will therefore appear that Elam was scarcely inferior in the practice of the arts to Babylonia and Assyria at this period, if the combined evidence of the extant objects and of the texts be considered; this was the prelude to the age of Shilkhak-In-Shushinak, the true apogee of Elamite civilization.

III. RELIGION

About one other aspect of this civilization the documents, in spite of their terse character, also provide information: the religion.

¹ G, 8, 41, n. 1; *R.A.* 13, 120; *R.A.* 17, 113 ff.; G, 4, col. 932; § III, 6, 98 and fig. 52.

² *Mém. D.P.* 10, 85 pl. x; *Mém. D.P.* 11, 12 and pl. III, nos. 1–2; G, 8, 64, nos. 61–64.

³ *Mém. D.P.* 8, 245 ff.; § III, 2, vol. II, 914 ff. See Plate 157 (a).

All of the bricks from the time of Untash-(*d*)*GAL* and his predecessor contained many references to the gods and their sanctuaries, and invocations of the gods in documents of all the Elamite kings are ubiquitous. But while in Babylonia very many rituals, incantations, prayers and the like have been found, in Elam not a single text with this kind of purely religious content is yet known. Almost all that can be done at present is to enumerate the divine names with such explanations as are provided by incidental phrases in the Elamite texts or by Akkadian god-lists and references in Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions dealing with Elam.

The principal native sources, apart from the inscribed bricks of Khumban-numena and Untash-(*d*)*GAL*, are either earlier or later than this period. A treaty of alliance concluded between Naram-Sin of Agade and a prince of Awan includes a list of deities cited as witnesses and guarantors. In the documents of the time of the *ensi* and *sukkal* rulers there are divine names included in the theophorous personal names, and those invoked in oaths. After the reign of Untash-(*d*)*GAL* the evidence lies in royal inscriptions of the dynasty of Shilkhak-In-Shushinak, of the last native Elamite kings at Susa and at Mālamir, and in references to Elamite gods occurring in Akkadian literature. In this last class are divine names occurring in the god-lists and in the Babylonian magical series called *šurpu*, as well as the account of the sack of Susa given in Ashurbanipal's annals describing temples and statues which his soldiery plundered or destroyed. As the inscriptions of the time of Shilkhak-In-Shushinak are more numerous and more varied in type than previously, it might seem that a general study of the religion should be attempted only for his period; but the pantheon was more or less formed at the time of Untash-(*d*)*GAL* and this period furnishes a good vantage-point to observe the evolution through which, in the course of centuries, this religion passed. When the statements of the different sources are compared, there is a notable divergence between the resulting lists of gods, according to the date or origin of the source.

Historically it appears that the order of the pantheon underwent important changes. Originally the dominating figure seems to have been the great goddess Pinikir, the first name invoked in the Naram-Sin treaty, while In-Shushinak was secondary. This predominance of a supreme goddess is probably a reflexion from the practice of matriarchy which at all times characterized Elamite civilization to a greater or lesser degree. Even when the supremacy of a male was fully recognized in the pantheon, perhaps

under the influence of western ideas, the cults of the goddesses always preserved their popularity in all parts of the empire. Nevertheless the progressive decline of the great goddess in favour of the major gods is one characteristic of religious evolution in Elam. Another, and of no less general significance, is the rise in importance of In-Shushinak the god of Susa; from a purely local god there developed step by step the great national god, who gradually eclipsed the principal ancient deities. In the time of Untash-(d)GAL he was already the equal of the 'Great God', with whom he is frequently associated; a century later, in the time of Shilkhak-In-Shushinak, he supplanted that god completely.

If, again, the documents are studied with regard to their provenance, Awan, Susa, Mālamīr, or Liyan, a clear differentiation of the worship in the different localities can be observed. Apart from certain great gods worshipped throughout the country, most of the deities clearly present provincial features. It would seem that there never was, in Elam, a unity of religious belief worthy of the name. Even in his most formal inscriptions Shilkhak-In-Shushinak invokes 'the gods of Elam', 'the gods of Anzan', 'the gods of Susa', as divine communities fundamentally distinct. Still another group, 'the gods of Aiapir', occurs in other inscriptions, while Tirutir, frequently invoked by Khanni at Mālamīr, appears nowhere else. Yet the name of Shimutta is always followed by the epithet 'god of Elam'. It is perhaps above all in the cults of the goddesses that this geographical differentiation can be observed. Although Kiririsha and Pinikir each had a sanctuary at Chogha-Zanbil, Kiririsha—'the lady of Liyan'—was worshipped more in the south, while Pinikir was worshipped in the north; Parti is essentially the goddess of Mālamīr, although known at Susa also by the name Partikira, according to the annals of Ashurbanipal. The variations of one and the same name are equally revealing as an indication of provincialism; in one place a god is called Lukhuratil, in another Rukhuratir, in one place Manzat, in another Manzit, in one place Khutran, in another Uduan or Duran, and so forth.

These fundamental differences can be explained by the fact that greater Elam was never anything but a political concept realized by a few energetic or ambitious kings. It was always a tribal federation constantly on the verge of breaking up, and with each tribe retaining its own gods. The nationalization of the local cults was one of the means used by the kings of the great dynasties to cement the precarious hold they had on the country. It was with this in mind that they made their capitals—Susa or

Dūr-Untash—into sacred capitals where they tried to group together the provincial gods but avoided attempts at complete assimilation. These cities must have fulfilled much the same purpose as did pre-Islamic Mecca, that of a 'resting place' for the divinities of the different tribes.

Besides regional figures the Elamite pantheon also included gods of peoples who lived in or passed through the Zagros as well as, during the whole of Elamite history, many Babylonian deities. These were worshipped throughout the empire, not in the way that captured deities might be, in that the conqueror sometimes made offerings to such in order to avoid their wrath, but as gods who formed an integral part of the pantheon. Susa, where a large Babylonian colony was established, was always quite open to influence from the west; this would account for the acceptance there of these foreign gods, but the worship of them spread far beyond the area round the city. In the time of Untash-(d)GAL, for example, certain Babylonian gods had their own shrines in the new sacred city at Chogha-Zanbil. The influence of Babylonia on the religion can be seen also in the use of Akkadian epithets for the deities, in the form of temples, and perhaps in certain ceremonies such as that which seems to bear the Akkadian name, *šūt šamši*, the rite at 'sun-rise'. It is almost impossible to discern why some Babylonian gods were accepted in Elam while others, no less important, were never admitted. The reasons were probably not political. Formerly the Third Dynasty of Ur and the sovereigns of Akkad exercised a firm sovereignty in Elam and this had a very deep influence on the culture of the country, whereas the cults of Ur and Akkad left only slight traces in Elamite religion. Instead of these Susiana was imbued with the doctrines of the great religious centre at Eridu, the holy city of Ea. Various phenomena might be explained on this assumption; the fantastic half-antelope half-fish or half-human half-fish figures of semi-divine beings on reliefs or seals,¹ the ideograms that are used for some divine appellations such as *A.É.A.LUGAL*, *NUN.LUGAL*, recalling the supreme name of Ea, *ENKI.LUGAL*, or the rites of ablution and lustration to which the many finds of great bowls and ritual basins in the ruins of Susa testify.

Eridu was certainly not the only Mesopotamian sanctuary which influenced Elam, for the goddess Ishtar of Uruk was also of importance. Thus we know of the gift of three richly bedecked white horses sent to her by the king Tammaritu (a contemporary

¹ M. Rutten, 'Une cuve décorée provenant de Suse', in *Mém. D.P.* 30, 220ff.

of Ashurbanipal),¹ and no doubt intended to draw the chariot of the goddess in processions. Nevertheless, the lack of documents prevents our knowing whether this assimilation of foreign ideas penetrated the more distant provinces of the empire. Extensive though it may have been, the influence of Babylonia on Elamite religion is not such as to justify the opinion that the introduction of these new cults ended in the superseding of the old indigenous religion by purely Babylonian beliefs and practices. The fact that divine names are written with logograms borrowed from Mesopotamian divine lists does not mean they should be read as Akkadian gods: in most cases they represent the name of a native god.

One more feature of the Elamite pantheon is shared, no doubt, by other pagan religions in ancient Western Asia, though it seems to be of wider application in Elam than elsewhere; that is the ill-defined character of the individual gods and goddesses. This want of formal distinction is due not merely to a defect of our knowledge but to the ideas that seem to have been current among the Elamites about their deities. Most of them were not only ineffable beings whose real name was either not uttered or was unknown, but also sublime ideas, not to be exactly defined by the human race. This may be the reason why Akkadian scribes experienced obvious difficulty in identifying them with their national gods; Ninurta, according to their account, corresponded with no less than eight members of the pantheon at Susa, Adad with three, and Shamash with two. The names used in the native language also illustrate this position. When Elamite gods are not called simply *napir*, 'the god', *zana*, *zini*, *sina*, 'the lady', *temti*, 'the protector', they often bear only an epithet indicating local origin or a particular quality, or else a description containing the elements *nap*, 'god', *zana*, 'lady', *kiri*, 'goddess', or *GAL*, 'the Great'. Even the name of the august Kiririsha means no more than 'the great goddess', while that of In-Shushinak derives from his position of 'lord of Susa'. There were, moreover, groups of gods known only by a collective epithet, such as *napratep*, *pahahutep*, *pahakikip*, or the ancient protecting deities whom Shilkhak-In-Shushinak invokes: *e nap pahappi akiip nappip*—'O protecting deities, ancient deities'.

These general observations provide the background to any review of the gods and goddesses in the inscriptions of Khumban-numena and Untash-(d)*GAL* at this period. The most important deities are unquestionably *GAL*, In-Shushinak and Kiririsha. The god with the simple epithet *GAL*—'the Great'—is frequently

¹ R. F. Harper, *A.B.L.* no. 268.

associated with In-Shushinak and always precedes him in the enumeration of their names. Their statues were placed side by side in the same temples, and together they are called 'princes of the gods'. The reading Khumban has been proposed for the logogram *GAL* and this is probably right.¹ There is some doubt, however, for beside the many mentions of *GAL* and In-Shushinak, either together or separately, there is one isolated mention, on a brick at Chogha-Zanbil,² where Khumban is written syllabically. Despite this, Hüsing's arguments still seem conclusive, until a more definite reason can be brought against them, that *GAL* and Khumban represent one and the same god. This god was, from the time of the earliest texts, the supreme male god in Elam. It is not impossible that he was also worshipped by other peoples more or less related to the Elamites. Even if it be granted that he was himself originally subject to the supreme power of the great goddess, his spouse, he displaced her immediately the idea of the superiority of the female principle began to lose its hold on the religious ideas of the Elamites. There is evidence that this cult was practised in all the provinces of the empire. With his name, Khumban or *GAL*, 'the Great', such epithets as 'the king', 'the greatest of the gods', 'the great protector', 'the sublime divine protector', 'the one creating stability', are constantly associated. The Babylonians treated him as the equivalent of their own Marduk, the creator, lord of Babylon. Although in certain parts of the kingdom he gradually yielded place to In-Shushinak, whose cult continually spread, he never ceased to be the personal god of the kings of that dynasty. Moreover, although 'the lord of Susa' displaced him, that god's pre-eminence was due essentially to political events. In the strictly religious aspect Khumban always kept his proper position in comparison with his rival; his name is always invoked first, and In-Shushinak, alternately with the goddess Kiririsha, appears only in the second place.

The prestige of In-Shushinak continually increased as the centuries passed. His position was closely linked with that of his city, Susa, which began as a provincial city and ended as the capital of an empire. In the early treaty with Naram-Sin his name is mentioned only in seventh place after those of Pinikir, Pakhakikip, Khupan (Khumban), *A.MAL*, Sit and Nakhiti,

¹ §1, 4, 95. See above, p. 385, n. 1.

² From this, one could suppose that there was one temple (or several) of *GAL* and a temple of Khumban. It should also be noted that in Khumban-numena, Khumban is always written syllabically whereas in the names of his successors Untash-(*d*)*GAL* and Unpatar-(*d*)*GAL*, the divine element is always written with the logogram *GAL*.

while in the time of Untash-(d)GAL and his predecessor his cult was already recognized outside the limits of Susiana, for he is mentioned on the inscribed bricks of the temple which Khumban-numena built in the island of Bushire.¹ The extension of his cult reached its maximum in the reign of Shilkhak-In-Shushinak who instituted, or re-instituted, his worship in numerous cities: Susa, Ekallatum, Marrut, Peptar, Shakhan-tallak, and others. A damaged stele with an inscription of this king mentions twenty of his foundations: out of the fourteen still legible, ten are dedicated to In-Shushinak, while Khumban, Pinikir, Sukhsipa and Lakamar are honoured with only one each.

The Assyrians identified 'the divine lord of Susa' with the Babylonian gods Ninurta and Adad, but he was most often invoked as 'god of the king' rather than in his character as a storm-god or fertility-god or war-god. He was, like Khumban, called 'the great god', 'the great protector', but the epithets which are much more indicative of his nature are 'the protector of our city', 'my god, my king, my ancestor', as the kings describe him; they hold their royal authority by his grant, they thank him for the aid he lends in war and in their peaceful enterprises. But this 'protector of the city', this 'god of the king', was for the Elamites a power as mysterious and as concealed as the other deities. In his description of the sack of Susa, Ashurbanipal says: 'I bore In-Shushinak away to Assyria, the god of their mysteries, who dwelt in a secret place, whose divine acts none was ever allowed to see.' In spite of the extension of his worship, In-Shushinak always remained in essence the god of Susa and Chogha-Zanbil. He was never regarded as a 'god of Elam' and the rock inscriptions of Mālamīr do not mention him.

The goddess of the supreme triad at this time was Kiririsha, specially celebrated as 'lady of Liyan' where Khumban-numena erected not only the temple that she shared with Khumban and the protecting deities of the locality, but also a private sanctuary which subsequent kings maintained. Although there is no evidence that Untash-(d)GAL consecrated a temple to her at Susa, it is known that she had a sanctuary at Chogha-Zanbil which she shared with another goddess, Ishme-karab. These buildings seem to have occupied a privileged place in the holy quarter. In his curses on possible violators of his pious works, the king never omitted to invoke her, together with (d)GAL and In-Shushinak. Some have thought that she was essentially a

¹ [On the 'island' of Bushire, see now E. Sollberger and J. R. Kupper, *Inscr. royales sum. et akk.*, Paris, 1971, p. 283, n. 1. (Ed.)]

chthonic deity, the ruler of the kingdom of the dead,¹ as they translate an epithet, *Kiririša Liyan laḥakara* by 'Kiririsha of the dead city of Liyan'. But this translation is probably wrong and the epithet means rather 'who dwells at Liyan'. Other texts merely call Kiririsha 'the Great' or 'the divine mother'. Although her name is invoked by Khanni in the inscriptions at Mālamīr, she is not mentioned in the Naram-Sin treaty, or in the documents of the early dynasties at Susa. These facts, combined with the absence of any record of her cult in the inscriptions of Untash-(d)GAL at Susa seem to be good reason for assuming that she was essentially a deity of the interior, especially the southern provinces of the empire.

In the north, on the other hand, the great goddess was Pinikir, whose cult seems to have been unknown at Mālamīr and Liyan. The primitive importance of this great goddess in the Elamite pantheon has already been mentioned; as the centre of the kingdom gradually shifted southward, she became less important, and gave place to the 'lady of Liyan', Kiririsha. At Susa, however, there was a temple dedicated to her alone at a very early date. Untash-(d)GAL restored it and added to it another construction called *aštam*.² At Chogha-Zanbil he also built her a sanctuary which seems less important than those of Ishme-karab and Kiririsha. The cult of Pinikir was observed throughout the centuries in Susiana, for Shutur-Nahhunte still invoked her as 'sovereign of the gods' and Ashurbanipal names her among the deities whose temples he destroyed. Assyrian lists of his time identify her with Ishtar, the supreme goddess of the Babylonians and Assyrians.

At least two other local goddesses were particularly honoured in the time of Untash-(d)GAL, called Upurkupak and Ishme-karab, but little is known of either of them. Upurkupak must be a provincial goddess, for the king boasted of having built a temple for her at Susa where none had been in the time of his predecessors. At a much later date Khutelutush-In-Shushinak seems to have been particularly devoted to this goddess, for he built a sanctuary for her in the town Shalulikki where her cult had not previously been observed. Ishme-karab, on the other hand, had been worshipped at Susa since the time of the *sukkal*-rulers. Yet it was not at Susa, but at Chogha-Zanbil, that Untash-(d)GAL dedicated a temple to her. Next to the temple of Kiririsha it occupied, as we have seen, a privileged place directly on the enclosure around the

¹ §1, 7, 101 ff.

² It would not seem at present that the Elamite word *aštam* is to be identified with the Akkadian *bit aštamme*.

zikkurrať. Later, Shilkhak-In-Shushinak restored one or two of her sanctuaries, but the broken text recording them does not allow of our knowing where.

To another important member of the pantheon, the god Nahhunte, Untash-(d)GAL built a new temple at Susa¹ and Chogha-Zanbil,² in which he placed a statue to thank the god for having heard his prayers and performed his desires. This god, like Shamash, with whom the Babylonians compared him, was the Elamite god of justice, the Sun. His cult was always a flourishing one in Elam and at Susa his temple was among the most ancient sanctuaries. Some kings call themselves 'servants of Nahhunte' and invoke him as their 'protector' and their 'ancestor'. The kings of the dynasty of Shilkhak-In-Shushinak devoted special attention to him as is shown by his appearance in several personal names of this house. This sun-god is invoked for a specific reason in the curses on possible violators: 'May Nahhunte...deprive him of descendants.'

Other gods whose names occur on inscribed bricks of this period are less known and less important; such are the divine Shimut and his consort, the two associated gods Khishmitik and Rukhuratir, Pelala, Nazit, Shiashum, Sunkir-Risharra, Kilakh-supir, Shushmushi³ and the Naprateg. Shimut, although expressly called 'god of Elam', is known to have been worshipped at Susa, Mālamir and Awan. If an Assyrian text which mentions a star of the same name can be relied upon, he was perhaps an astral deity; his cult was much in favour in Elam, and never ceased throughout the centuries. In the Naram-Sin treaty he was invoked immediately after In-Shushinak. In the personal name of a *sukkal* called Shimut-wartash he has the character of a tutelary god. He had a temple on the acropolis at Susa before the reign of Untash-(d)GAL and that king, not content with restoring this traditional sanctuary, built another for him at Chogha-Zanbil. When, a century later, the temple at Susa had again fallen into ruin, Shilkhak-In-Shushinak, one of whose brothers was called Shimut-nikatash, rebuilt it completely of more durable material. It survived till the days when the destructive fury of Ashurbanipal's soldiery reduced it to ashes.

¹ *Mém. D.P.* 3, no. xiv.

² A brick like *Mém. D.P.* 3, no. xiv, was found at Chogha-Zanbil during the excavations of 1958-9.

³ These last two gods are mentioned on bricks that were found since the publication of the list of deities given by M. Rutten in *Mém. D.P.* 32, 8f. The non-existent *Akkipish should be removed as it is the result of a misreading of *Mém. D.P.* 32, xviii, no. 1, 3.

In all these sanctuaries Shimut was worshipped with his divine spouse. At Susa and Chogha-Zanbil she was called at this period *NIN.URU*, 'lady of the city'. It is not certain whether this logogram is to be read in Akkadian, *Bēlit-āli*, or whether this is simply an epithet of Manzat, who is later constantly associated with Shimut as his spouse. Manzat, 'the great lady', was a very ancient deity whose name is found on a business document of the Agade dynasty, and it occurs several times in personal names of the Third Dynasty of Ur. Likened to a leonine Ishtar by the Akkadian scribes she was worshipped not only in Susiana but also, as Manzit, at Mālamir. She certainly had a sanctuary at Chogha-Zanbil¹ and at Susa, her temple, or perhaps the chapel she occupied in the sanctuary of Shimut, was restored first by Shutruk-Nahhunte and then by Khutelutush-In-Shushinak. She probably had another temple as well not far from Chogha-Zanbil on the other side of the Āb-i Diz on the unexplored mound now called Deh-i Now.² A brick found on this site states that a temple of Manzat stood there at the time of Shutruk-Nahhunte.

The two deities Khishmitik and Rukhuratir shared, both at Susa and at Chogha-Zanbil, a common temple built for them by Untash-(*d*)*GAL*. Khishmitik, also written Ishmitik, is known only from inscribed bricks of that king, but Rukhuratir is found more often. His cult existed at all periods, and must have been widespread in the country, as shown by various spellings of his name. In the contracts from Mālamir he is joined with Shamash as a god before whom oaths were sworn. Assyrian scribes regarded him, together with In-Shushinak, as identical with the god Ninurta, and he appears in the series of incantations *šurpu* as potent to protect against witchcraft.

Of other individual gods little is known. Pelala is named in the contracts from Mālamir and in the annals of Ashurbanipal, but we are left without information as to the part he played in the Elamite pantheon. The personality of Nazit is equally obscure. His chapel at Susa, mentioned on an inscribed brick of Untash-(*d*)*GAL* may have been part of the joint temple of *GAL* and In-Shushinak, for these two are invoked in this dedication. Only on bricks from Chogha-Zanbil are found the deities Shiashum,

¹ The brick mentioning this was found after the publication of *Mém. D.P.* 32, 8f.

² This site was certainly occupied for a long time as bricks dating from the Third Dynasty of Ur to the times of Shutruk-Nahhunte and Shilkhak-In-Shushinak were found there.

Sunkir-Risharra, Kilakh-supir and Shushmushi, of whom nothing more is known than their names, although the first is mentioned in the Naram-Sin treaty. The name of the second is simply an epithet, 'the great king'. All we know about the last, Shushmushi, is that he was coupled with a *bēlit*, a 'lady', who is otherwise unknown. As for the Napratep, worshipped both at Susa and Chogha-Zanbil, we know only that they constituted a group, for the form is plural, as in Pakhakhutep, gods to whom Khumban-numena dedicated a great temple at Liyan. It is not clear whether the former, like the latter, were old, more or less anonymous, protecting deities, or whether it was a generic for several known gods such as the Igigi or Anunnaki of the Babylonian pantheon. The first element means simply 'god' but the second, *ratep*, cannot be interpreted although it formed part of the personal name of a prince of Awan, Khishep-ratep.

In addition to these indigenous gods, the Elamite documents of this period mention many Babylonian deities for whom Untash-(d)GAL had temples built both at Susa and at Chogha-Zanbil. They are Nabu, Sin, Adad and Shala, Inanna and Nusku. Earlier inscriptions show that a number of Babylonian gods had long been worshipped in Susiana, but it is worthy of note that these cults, adopted from the west, remained in existence at this time when the country took an independent course and displayed a certain chauvinism in the persistent struggle for a national policy and an internal development of civilization. Since many names such as Sin and Adad were written with logograms the question arises whether these should not be interpreted in the same way as the logogram, *UTU*, to be read Nahhunte, that is to say, as true Elamite names. Assyrian lists in fact inform us that Sin was called Dakdadra in Elam, and that Adad corresponded to both Shunnukushsha and Sihhash, as well as In-Shushinak. But Sin and Adad are so well attested in Elam in other periods that there is no *a priori* reason for excluding them from the Elamite pantheon of this time. That Adad and Shala were worshipped in their own names is proved by syllabic writing, and this is another reason for maintaining that the other Akkadian names were used.

It is a pertinent question whether these Babylonian deities preserved in this foreign land the characteristics and qualities which they had in their own country. A votive hoe has been found at Chogha-Zanbil, with its handle in the form of a serpent and bearing the inscription '*marru* of Nabu'. The *marru*, probably borrowed from the symbols of Marduk, is not an emblem

of his cult-centre Borsippa, whereas the serpent, on the other hand, seems to indicate that in Susiana Nabu was connected with the chthonic powers which that reptile symbolizes. Again, the goddess Shala was in Babylonia the traditional spouse of Adad. Her cult appeared in Elam immediately after its adoption in Babylonia by the Semites of the Amorite dynasty; but in the contracts of Susa she appears independent of Adad as one of the gods before whom oaths were taken.¹ It was not until later, in Susa as in Chogha-Zanbil, that she was closely associated with the cult of Adad. However this may be, in the dedicatory inscriptions of Untash-(d)GAL, no distinction seems to be made between the foreign and Elamite gods. They were all 'gods of Siyankuk'² whom the king implores to accept his pious works and bless his kingship in exactly the same terms. The foreign, like the native, gods receive the tribute of new statues in the restored temples. And to these Babylonian gods, fully accepted in Elam, there is no doubt that Bēltia, 'my lady', should be added. She occurs in the inscription on the statue of Napirasu and it is certain that she was the Ishtar of Babylon, for one of the successors of Untash-(d)GAL describes her as *zana Tentar*, 'the lady of Babylon'.

In spite, then, of the brevity and monotony of the formulae on the bricks of the kings of this dynasty, a broad reconstruction of the Elamite pantheon in this period is possible, but it would be an exaggeration to treat the list as exhaustive. The excavations of Chogha-Zanbil and Susa have not as yet revealed all there is to know about these two cities. Other cities and other temples are still hidden under the débris of unexplored mounds. Moreover, there were certainly other temples, at Susa and elsewhere, which did not need repairs at that time, and consequently do not appear in the kings' inscriptions, Khutran is a case in point; he was an ancient deity of the national pantheon, closely associated with the divine pair Khumban and Kiririsha, perhaps their son, if an invocation of Shilkhak-In-Shushinak, which calls him 'the chosen descendant' of these two, can be said to prove that. A tutelary god, his name occurs frequently in personal names such as Khutran-temti, Kidin-Khutran and the like. Although his cult

¹ It is doubtful whether the personal name Shala on the tablets of Mālamīr refers to this goddess. The name is never preceded by the divine determinative and once (*Mém. D.P.* 8, 16 = *Mém. D.P.* 22, 76) instead of Shala we find the personal name Tepti-akhar, which is also on a tablet from Susa (*Mém. D.P.* 23, 248, 18).

² According to the brick cited above for the identification of Chogha-Zanbil with Dūr-Untash, it seems that *siyankuk*, in which there is the word *siyan* 'temple', designated a part of the holy city, probably the group, temples and zikkurrat, within the two inner enclosures. It seems to have the same meaning at Susa.

originated perhaps in Awan, he had a temple at Susa which Ashurbanipal was to destroy in the sack of that city. Two other native divinities, Lakamar and Narundi, as well as the Babylonian gods Nergal, Shamash, and Nin-khursag, are in the same situation; no texts from this period mention them, but there is no reason to suppose that their cults fell into disuse at this time, for they occur both earlier and later. It may be that they are disguised under names given to many gods as yet unidentified.

The results of this review of Elamite religion sufficiently demonstrate the inadequacy of our sources. An enumeration of the deities worshipped by a people is not a sufficient guide to the true substance of the religion. We do, however, have other evidence than the dedicatory inscriptions and god lists. There are the monuments, reliefs and sculpture as well as the seals from Elam. Despite the fact that they are difficult to interpret because of their particular symbolism, some of them may illustrate certain fundamental ideas of Elamite religion. The archaic seal impressions¹ seem to show that Susa and Mesopotamia had the same primitive concepts about the gods. Each city-state worshipped a patron god who was partnered by his consort, either one being pre-eminent. A pantheon, even regional, does not seem to exist until pre-Sargonic times. There is seen also the king-priest standing beside a temple with a high terrace.² According to similar pieces from Uruk these motifs seem to be related to the neo-Sumerian concept of the divine king. Another seal, slightly earlier than the dynasty of Agade, illustrates a feature which we consider distinctly Elamite: the multiplicity and the eminent position of goddesses. A very curious sort of feminine pantheon is evoked by a line of goddesses taking part in a mythological drama which seems concerned with vegetation.³

There has already been occasion to mention rites of ablution, which were perhaps due to the influence of the cult of Ea on Elamite religion. These rites are known through the discovery at Susa of many containers and basins, one at least of which is decorated with the representation of an intertwined cord, the symbol of the flowing waters, and with the half-antelope, half-fish figures. Other such rites are illustrated by the votive bronze model called *šit šamšī*; two naked figures, perhaps a priest and his acolyte, kneel face to face before a temple and, presumably at

¹ Period of Uruk V-III. As well as a style similar to that of Uruk, there was an original style which shows that Elamite art was not simply a borrowing from Mesopotamia, cf. § 11, 2, 105 ff. For the documents of Uruk cf. § 111, 8.

² See § 111, 1, 41.

³ § 111, 3, 1, pl. 45, 11-12 (S. 462), and p. 57.

dawn, are about to commence ritual ablutions with the water contained in a vase of a form not unlike the *agubbu*, the vessel containing holy fluid, used by the Babylonians.¹

These two objects are later in date than the time of Untash-(d)GAL but the stele carved in relief that bears his name provides other religious motifs that are no less instructive. The flowing streams recur on this stele and the gesture of prayer is shown, a deity is replaced by a symbol, and the Elamite belief in fantastic creatures half man, half animal is illustrated, together with the religious importance of the serpent. Most of these features can also be found in a rock relief at Kūrangān,² between Susa and Persepolis. This depicts seated deities, groups of worshippers, the flowing streams, the serpent figure. In this religious scene there is a theme which adds to the interest, the advance of a procession towards the 'high place' where the divine pair sit.³ The worshippers, marching in a column, hold their hands out towards the god, the gesture of prayer, which does not differ from the Babylonian act of adoration. The supernatural character of the gods is symbolized as in Babylonia by the triple row of horns on the head-dress; even semi-divine beings or demons are sometimes so distinguished, but in their case a single pair of horns for their leaders is usual. One detail, however, which may also be found on certain North Syrian reliefs of the 'Hittite' style, distinguishes these representations of the gods from the Babylonian tradition: whether the god's head is in full face or profile, the horns are always full face. But the motif of the flowing streams leads us back again to the direct Babylonian influence. On the stele these have the appearance of two long wavy tresses crossing one another, which join heaven and earth; in the middle they are held by a semi-divine being, half human, half fish, who holds them tight against his chest. At Kūrangān, on the other hand, it is the god himself who lifts in his right hand a bellied vase from which the two streams flow; the water, curving backwards and forwards, falls on two groups of worshippers. The comparison with the frequent use of this *motif* in Babylonia shows a close connexion with fertility rites.

¹ This bronze model is studied in detail below, pp. 496 f. ² See Plate 53 (b)-(c).

³ See the end of this chapter, and also compare *C.A.H.* i³, pt. 2, pp. 673 f. N. C. Debevoise, 'The Rock Reliefs of Ancient Iran', in *J.N.E.S.* i, 72, dates this relief in the third millennium, but § III, 2, iv, 2139 prefers the middle of the second. Neither of these dates is certain. It could also be dated to the neo-Sumerian period by comparing it with a seal-impression found in the Ur III level (*Mém. D.P.* 25, 233, fig. 53) and with the different representations on the seals of Susa B (see *R.A.* 50, 135, no. 4).

The form taken by the semi-divine creatures likewise belongs to a common set of ideas. In the earliest periods of Elamite civilization these supernatural beings had the strangest forms—half human, half plant; half human, half serpent; half human, half goat; and so forth. This was probably common to Elam and Babylonia, but the Elamites seem to have been much more imaginative. They created the griffon, as a temple guard, which was unknown to the Sumerians.¹ Contrariwise, the nude hero 'Gilgamesh', the usual acolyte of the god Ea, was unknown in the glyptic art of Susa.² Later, Babylonian influence restricted and regularized the types; to an upper body in human form there was added either the tail end of a fish or the hind quarters of a bull. They are thus represented either in the midst of the interlacing streams, or beside a palm-tree, or on either side of a stylized 'tree of life'. Themselves producing and protecting the fertility of the land, these creatures were also, in Elam as elsewhere, the guardians of sacred buildings. Ashurbanipal mentioned in his annals the *šēdū* and *lamassū* which guarded the temples at Susa and the figures of wild bulls which watched over the gates. There is no doubt that the Elamites believed in the existence of evil demons as well as of these beneficent deities. Their Babylonian neighbours in fact regarded Elam as specially the land of witches and of demoniac creatures; the typical demoness Lamashtu herself, though often called 'the Sutan',³ is just as often named 'the Elamite'. Even if it cannot be denied that Babylonia exercised a controlling influence on Elamite art in the representation of semi-divine beings, it is none the less certain that many of these fantastic creatures were directly due to Elamite imagination.

As well as good and evil demons the Elamite engravers also invented others which seem to personify cosmic ideas and have nothing to do with the notions of good or evil. The scenes that they depicted, most often in a style of caricature, are more probably taken from myth than from stories or fables. There are not only animals parodying men,⁴ but Atlas-figures holding up the world,⁵ and successions of gigantic animals, perhaps symbolizing

¹ This is later found in Egypt; see § III, 1, 42, and fig. 5.

² This is the more curious in that the seals of an older period (Susa I) display figures of conquering heroes who anticipate 'Gilgamesh'.

³ I.e. one who haunts the Syrian desert.

⁴ Dog-ploughmen or farmers (*Mém. D.P.* 16, nos. 196, 260, etc.); antelope holding a bow and arrows (§ III, 5, no. 775), etc. Cf. the statuettes from Susa showing drinking and sitting animals (*Mém. D.P.* 13, pl. xxxix, 2-3); cf. M. Rutten in *Rev. ét. sém.* (1938), 97 ff.

⁵ *Mém. D.P.* 16, 266, 267, etc.; P. Amiet in *R.A.* 50 (1956), 125 f.

natural cycles, victorious over each other alternately in strict order.¹ These themes conjure up a 'land of fable' from which man is absent, and mysterious domains where the cosmic balance is in operation.

The most important motif in Elamite religious art is the serpent.² Our attention has already been drawn to this recurring theme by the two long serpents which frame the stele of Untash-(d)GAL. Actually the serpent appears on very ancient objects, notably on seals that belong to the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur. It is represented on the stele of Puzur-Shushinak, in the rock relief of Kūrangān, and in another relief cut in the rock at Naqsh-e Rostam. It is the essential theme on the celebrated 'altar with serpents', a masterpiece of Elamite metal work dating from the period after Untash-(d)GAL, and bodies of reptiles frequently form the butt of votive sceptres or the handle of a *marru* dedicated to the god Nabu.

All these examples, together with many others that need not be quoted here, whether the serpent is depicted naturally or as a symbol, are simply representations of a very ancient deity, the serpent god, or rather, a god of which the serpent is the symbol, the captive, and the guardian of his subterranean realm. Undoubtedly the theme of the serpent was popular in Mesopotamia at different times, and even had an influence on Elamite tradition. Thus, during the dynasty of Agade, Susa as well as Babylonia³ used on their seals a representation of the serpent-god that had been worked out by Agadean artists. In the same way the serpent on the stele of Untash-(d)GAL can be compared with similar representations on several Kassite *kudurru*.⁴ But the serpent was always more important in Elam than in Mesopotamia, and the Elamite artists created a type of human-headed serpent that was typically Elamite.⁵ This originality is of special importance from a religious point of view, as it shows a deification of the

¹ *Mém. D.P.* 16, no. 330. (An enormous bull mastering two small lions is counterpoised with an enormous lion subduing two small bulls.) Another seal, now lost, shows two antithetic scenes: a lion threatening a kneeling bull with his bow and the same bull, this time standing, holding a club over the head of the now crouching lion. The same kind of alternation and balancing of forces can be seen in the document *Mém. D.P.* 16, 335, studied by E. Porada, 'A Leonine Figure. . .', in *J.A.O.S.* 70 (1950), 225.

² P. Toscanne, 'Études sur le serpent. . . dans l'antiquité élamite', in *Mém. D.P.* 12, 153 ff. and 25, 183 ff., 232 f.; and cf. § III, 7, 53 ff.

³ Cf. *R.A.* 44 (1950), 172, nos. 30, 31.

⁴ See § III, 4, pl. I, pl. LXVIII, 1; pl. LXXXIII, 1.

⁵ See § III, 3, I S. 105; *R.A.* 19 (1922), 148, no. 11.

serpent little known in Mesopotamia. This deity tends to become less and less animal. Sometimes it has the head and shoulders of a man and from the torso downwards the body becomes the winding coils of a serpent. Sometimes, however, the serpent is no more than an attribute of the deity, as in the relief of Kūrangān, where the god, entirely human in form, holds the head of the serpent in his left hand while its body, folded coil upon coil, serves as his seat. This serpent-god, the origin of whose cult is lost in the mists of time, is rather a mysterious figure, a symbol perhaps of all those dark powers that are hidden in the depths of the earth, or spring up from the ground, sometimes beneficent, sometimes terrifying, bringing sometimes fertility, sometimes destruction. It is thus not surprising that many representations of serpents have been found in foundation deposits. Heads or bodies of these reptiles were a common form for ex-votos, buried to secure the protection of the chthonic deities for the foundations which descend into their dark realm.

One other religious motif in the relief at Kūrangān deserves special notice. On the rock surface to the left, slightly overhanging the face with the principal relief, where the god with the serpent and the seated goddess beside him form the central group, the procession represented seems to be moving towards the divine pair. Such long files may be seen recurring on the rocks of Kul-i Fir'aun, at Mālamir, in the rock reliefs carved in honour of Khanni, the ruler of Aiapir.¹ The custom of religious processions, with their trains of priests and worshippers, was common in Mesopotamia from a very early date. Certain of these processions, in particular those of the New Year, even left the environs of the temple and filed out into the surrounding country. But here the worshippers did not accompany their god but came from afar to pay homage. The scene is more reminiscent of a pilgrimage than of a procession, and this form of worship is very rarely known in Mesopotamia. On the other hand, the fact that their goal was a high place, the seat of chthonic deities, rather recalls certain aspects of Anatolian cults, where may also be found these three features: a high place, a procession, and chthonic deities.²

It will be apparent from these remarks on Elamite religion that it is still difficult for us to form any precise idea of this

¹ The seals only seldom depict religious ceremonies. The most striking example is the amusing scene which shows a line of sedan-chairs and standard-bearers on the document in *Mém. D.P.* 29, 20, fig. 16 (12). Unfortunately this scene, like many others, is difficult to interpret.

² See § III, 2, iv, 2139.

people's beliefs. Certainly we know the name and often the nature of the greater proportion of their gods, certainly also their beliefs contained ideas common to most of the primitive religions of the Near East, together with obvious influence from Mesopotamian cults. But the original bases of the native religion still escape our knowledge. Until future excavations have put at our disposal specifically religious documents, especially prayers and rituals, it will be impossible to attempt a comprehensive account of Elamite religion.

CHAPTER XXXII

ELAM AND WESTERN PERSIA,

c. 1200–1000 B.C.

I. SHUTRUK-NAHHUNTE AND KUTIR-NAHHUNTE

WITH the disappearance of Kidin-Khutran the internal history of Elam seems to have witnessed several political disturbances. The later native sources mention, after him, a certain Khallutush-In-Shushinak not as the successor of Kidin-Khutran but as the father of the king Shutruk-Nahhunte. As no reference is made to any parental ties between this Khallutush-In-Shushinak and one of the sovereigns of the preceding dynasty, nor to his own reign, there is no reason to suppose that he belongs to the royal line or that he ever held power. We are therefore obliged to admit a break in the dynastic line between Kidin-Khutran and Shutruk-Nahhunte. This break can be explained only by supposing that a new line of princes took control, aided by internal troubles of the times. Whence came this family? This cannot be decided from the texts. The only hint we have is onomastic. Whereas the names of sovereigns of the previous dynasty were particularly devoted to Khumban and Khutran, the name of Khallutush-In-Shushinak and those of at least two of his successors were placed under the patronage of the god of Susa. One can suppose that this choice of In-Shushinak as patron god perhaps indicates that this new royal house was somehow linked with Susiana.

However this may be, one thing is certain—with the reign of Shutruk-Nahhunte begins one of the most glorious periods in Elamite history. During a space of almost seventy years five kings succeed to the throne: Shutruk-Nahhunte, Kutir-Nahhunte, Shilkhak-In-Shushinak, Khutelutush-In-Shushinak and Silkhinakhamru-Lakamar; the first three of these at least were destined to win fame. Their personal qualities were to make Elam one of the greatest military powers in the Middle East for a period lasting over fifty years. This Elamite renaissance was aided by a fortunate juncture of international conditions.

With the tragic death of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1208) came a

* An original version of this chapter was published as fascicle 23 in 1964.

sudden decline in Assyrian military power, and the country was torn by internal troubles. For several years two kings, each supported by his own faction, struggled for mastery. These struggles continued after them, and were exploited by the Babylonians, whose king Adad-shuma-uşur (1218-1189) laid siege to Ashur and fought against the Assyrian king Enlil-kudurri-uşur (1197-1193). During these hostilities another Assyrian prince Ninurta-apil-Ekur (1192-1180), until that time an exile in Babylon, seized the Assyrian throne¹ and reigned with the support of the Babylonian king, who had made Assyria into a kind of protectorate. The Assyrians at that time had not—nor had the Babylonians—leisure to take any interest in Elam. The western frontier of Assyria was threatened by the Mushki, and the Aramaean danger in Upper Mesopotamia was becoming more and more pressing.

It was not until 1160 that the new king of Assyria, Ashur-dan I, thought that Assyria was strong enough to take up an aggressive foreign policy again. He threw off Babylonian domination by a raid on Babylonia which was not revenged by its king Zababashuma-iddina. But the Assyrian had counted too much upon his strength, for he was unable to push back the Mushki who had crossed the frontiers and installed themselves on the upper Tigris. The weakness of Babylonia and Assyria was thus revealed. Elam under the leadership of capable and energetic kings could take advantage of this situation, first to establish their new strength, and then to wait for a favourable time when they could intervene decisively in Mesopotamia.

Our sources from Mesopotamia at this period are a fragmentary chronicle, a detail from a letter and a few other texts which must be used with caution. These do, however, give us several important synchronisms. We know hereby that Shutruk-Nahhunte was the contemporary of the Babylonian kings Zababashuma-iddina (1160) and Enlil-nādin-akhi (1159-1157) as well as the Assyrian king Ashur-dan I (1179-1134). They also inform us that the last years of Khutelutush-In-Shushinak coincide with the beginning of the reign of Nebuchadrezzar I (1124-1103).

The native sources from Elam are more numerous and more varied in nature than those of earlier periods. To the foundation bricks can be added not only the inscriptions engraved on numerous war trophies that the Elamite conquerors brought back to Susa, but the detailed inscriptions engraved on stelae, which enumerate their peaceful operations as well as lists of foreign

¹ §1, 7, 131.

countries and cities which they conquered. It is unfortunate that our knowledge of the Elamite language, still very imperfect, does not allow us fully to understand these texts.

For the few years preceding the reign of Shutruk-Nahhunte we know practically nothing about the happenings in Elam, but can suppose that the Elamites were not satisfied with being simple spectators of a drama preluded by the violent death of Tukulti-Ninurta I. It is not possible to say whether the Elamites instigated or had anything to do with the plot that Ashur-nādin-apli, with part of the Assyrian nobility, laid against his father, depriving him first of liberty and then of life.

However this may be, the Babylonians, when Shutruk-Nahhunte ascended the throne, were looking for means of profiting from the state of affairs in Assyria and were not, therefore, much interested in Elam. It was during this calm period that he established his authority and made Susa the recognized capital of the new empire. Probably with this in mind he brought to Susa various stelae left in different parts of the kingdom by his predecessors, and solemnly dedicated them to his god In-Shushinak. One of the stelae, the work of Untash-(d)GAL, probably came from Chogha-Zanbil.¹ Another, which came from Anzan where it had been set up by a king whose name he admits not to have known, had its itinerary minutely described in another inscription. The following stages in the journey are mentioned: perhaps the districts (?) of Kutkin and Nakhutir, and certainly the cities Dūr-Untash, on the river Khitkhite, and Tikni.² Another document of special importance mentions a third stele which was brought from Aia.³ The collecting of these, until then dispersed, monuments of Elamite history seems to show the centralist tendencies of Shutruk-Nahhunte and his desire to make the city of In-Shushinak the political and religious centre of the kingdom. Despite this he had temples built in all the principal cities of the kingdom.

He constantly excited, in all respects, Elamite nationalism by pointing out the unity of the empire as well as its lasting tradition. It was undoubtedly this desire that caused him, when he restored the temple of the goddess Manzat, to collect and place next to his own the foundation-bricks of his predecessors who had already done work on this sanctuary.⁴ Parallel to this, in the political sphere, he carried on his work of unification and pacification. He imposed his authority even in the far-removed parts of

¹ G, 8, 52, no. 21.

² G, 8, 52, no. 20.

³ G, 8, 54, no. 28.

⁴ G, 1, no. 42; G, 8, 86, no. 63; §1, 2.

the kingdom; he was able to subjugate the semi-nomads and obliged them to give back any booty they had taken. And he was no doubt justified in claiming to have been present and active in places where formerly Siwe-palar-khuppak, Pala-ishshan, Pakhir-ishshan and Attar-kittakh had left their marks, as well as in remote districts which none of his predecessors had known, and where his own name had not till then penetrated—such as Shali, Mimurasi, Lappuni, and others.¹

Towards the south along the Persian Gulf his empire extended into the southernmost parts of Elam. At Liyan, on the island of Bushire,² one of his inscribed bricks has been found. In this inscription he boasts of having restored an ancient sanctuary dedicated to the goddess Kiririsha.³ Susa, as would be expected, had a large share in his religious works. Besides the temple of Manzat he restored a temple dedicated to In-Shushinak which he decorated with baked bricks and possibly a hypostyle room. He offered stone basins for the cult of Sukhsipa as well as In-Shushinak.⁴

Having restored and consolidated the might of Elam, Shutruk-Nahhunte was ready to play an important part on the international scene. He had not to wait long. In Babylon Zababa-shumaidina (1160) had succeeded Marduk-apla-iddina on the throne. The new king was a weakling, incapable of maintaining Babylonian domination in Assyria. The Assyrian king, Ashur-dan I, had taken—as we have seen—Zaban, on the Lesser Zab, Irria and Ugarsallu from the Babylonians in 1160. This ineffectual victory which showed the weakness of both sides could only encourage the Elamite. He was all the more tempted because the lower Zab and the Diyālā represented a crucial zone for Elam itself. North and south of the Diyālā pass two important caravan roads which link the Mesopotamian plain to the Iranian plateau.

At the head of a large army Shutruk-Nahhunte and his son Kutir-Nahhunte invaded Mesopotamia. Several stelae, unfortunately in bad condition, record in Elamite the extent and the success of this campaign, as well as details about the tribute extracted from the conquered cities. A fragment of a stele⁵ states that after having crossed the Kārūn river (the ancient Ulai) and stopped at Eli he captured many settlements, 700 before arriving at Mara, which is perhaps to be identified with Marriti,⁶ and several hundreds more on the other side of Mara. Another fragment⁷ gives a list of tributes which several large captured cities were

¹ G, 8, 54 f., no. 28; G, 2, 106, n. 26; G, 9, 332 b. ² See above, p. 405, n. 1.

³ G, 8, 51, no. 19.

⁴ §1, 5.

⁵ G, 8, 56, no. 28 a.

⁶ G, 16, 393.

⁷ G, 8, 88, no. 67.

obliged to pay to the conqueror. It speaks of great sums paid in *minas* or talents of gold and silver, as well as deliveries of bricks and stone. The following places are mentioned: Eshnunna, Dūr-Kurigalzu, Sippar, Dūr-Shar[...], Opis and perhaps Agade, the name of which is partly broken.

To this evidence we can add other information derived from inscriptions upon spoils of war.¹ Shutruk-Nahhunte removed from Eshnunna two royal statues, one of which represented Manishtusu. From Sippar he took the fine sandstone stele celebrating Naram-Sin's victory over the Lullubi, and perhaps together with it the famous monument inscribed with the laws of Hammurabi. From the country called Karindash, probably the present Karind on the caravan-road from Baghdad to Kirmānshāh, came a statue of the Kassite king Meli-Shikhu (1188-1174).² From another place, the name of which is lost—perhaps Kish—he took the obelisk of Manishtusu, and from Agade two statues of the same king.

Although the above information is probably incomplete it gives a fairly good picture of the zone in which Shutruk-Nahhunte operated. The mention of Karindash, Eshnunna, Dūr-Kurigalzu, Opis and Dūr-Sharrukīn is very significant as they show that his attention was above all directed towards the lower Diyālā and the passes that commanded the area. He separated Babylonia from the north by cutting across the isthmus between the Tigris and the Euphrates near Sippar. After descending on Kish he had only to bring his campaign to a logical conclusion by the capturing of Babylon. He apparently did not encounter any important resistance despite his destructive progress. Even at Babylon he had no difficulty in bringing the one-year reign of Zababa-shuma-iddina (1160) to an abrupt end.

The collapse of Babylon now seemed irremediable, for Shutruk-Nahhunte, unlike his predecessors, was not content with booty and prisoners, but decided to establish his authority in the country. To this end he set up his son Kutir-Nahhunte as governor of the province he had conquered in Mesopotamia, and then went back to Susa where he dedicated the booty to his god In-Shushinak. It is probable that he died shortly afterwards, as he did not have time to complete all of the dedications that were to be inscribed on the various captured trophies. A vacant space hammered out on the stele of the Hammurabi laws still awaits the victor's inscription.

¹ G, 8, 52 f., nos. 22-7.

² On the reading of the name, see above, p. 444, n. 9.

Despite his successes Shutruk-Nahhunte left his work in Babylonia unfinished. National resistance, which Zababa-shumaidina had failed to head, soon took shape under a Kassite leader named Enlil-nādin-akhi, afterwards entitled 'king of Babylon' by the chroniclers who refused to recognize the Elamite usurper. It took Kutir-Nahhunte three years to overcome this opponent, and the struggle was so violent that it lived long in the memory of the vanquished. A later Babylonian ruler was thus to sum up the misdeeds of the intruder: 'His crimes were greater and his grievous sins worse than all his fathers had committed. . . like a deluge he laid low all the peoples of Akkad, and cast in ruins Babylon and all the noblest cities of sanctity.'¹

This resistance lasted only for three years, at which time Kutir-Nahhunte captured Enlil-nādin-akhi and exiled him to Elam² where he probably died. The Kassite dynasty which had ruled for so many years came to an end with the death of Enlil-nādin-akhi. Babylonia became the vassal of Elam. After having deported³ much of the population the Elamite imposed upon the country a governor who was not of native stock and detested the local gods.⁴

Marduk⁵ and Nanā of Uruk, who were also victims of this defeat, were themselves deported to Susa. Marduk stayed in Elam only until the reign of Nebuchadrezzar I (1124-1103), but Nanā had to wait the victorious armies of Ashurbanipal.

When Shutruk-Nahhunte died, Kutir-Nahhunte succeeded him. It is possible that he exercised some part of the power with his father. We know that before succeeding to the throne he was responsible for the installation of decorative panels in the temple of In-Shushinak.⁶ These panels,⁷ forming a dado with recurring pattern, represent a monstrous figure, half-man half-bull, standing beside a stylized palm-tree, and the narrow outline of a woman with a thin triangular face; the scene is topped by a frieze. The general aspect of this⁸ is reminiscent of the wall of the temple of Inanna at Uruk which was built during the fifteenth century by the Kassite king Karaindash.⁹

As king, Kutir-Nahhunte continued the decoration of his capital. One of his main occupations was the temple of In-

¹ §1, 7, 137 (K. 2660), obv. 4 ff.

² *Ibid.* obv. 12 f.

³ *Ibid.* obv. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.* obv. 14.

⁵ *Ibid.* obv. 10.

⁶ G, 8, 57, no. 29.

⁷ This type of panel is known from other sites; see §1, 3, 123 ff.

⁸ The difficult art of moulding these panels was possibly brought into Elam by Babylonian prisoners. The glazed bricks of Darius at Susa are in the same tradition.

⁹ §1, 1, plates 15-17.

Shushinak wherein he had a statue of himself placed. These works were not finished during his reign and it was his successor who was to complete them. He did have time to restore a chapel dedicated to the goddess Lakamar at Susa, and a chapel dedicated to Kiririsha by Khumban-numena was restored at Liyan. The inscription relating the restoration asks the goddess to bless his life as well as that of his wife, Nahhunte-Utu, and his descendants.¹ When he died, c. 1140, he left a strong state with borders extending to Bandar-Bushire in the south and into the Mesopotamian plain on the west. But not all of Babylonia was his vassal, for to the south there were still some independent zones. At Isin a local chief was called king of Babylon and it was around him that the resistance to the Elamite invader formed.

II. SHILKHAK-IN-SHUSHINAK

Shilkhak-In-Shushinak followed his brother Kutir-Nahhunte on the throne, and this reign was to be one of the most glorious periods in the history of Elam. His military expeditions to the north-west which went far beyond any of those of his predecessors, collected large quantities of booty. This flow of material and prisoners brought much wealth to Elam. With this Shilkhak-In-Shushinak was to begin a period of construction in Susa and the other cities of the country which surpassed anything done until that time. Local art was encouraged and flourished to a remarkable degree.

His authority was unquestioned and extended over the whole country. The desire to make himself the symbol of Elamite power and unity was more marked in him than any of the other kings. Although he was a fervent devotee of his personal god, In-Shushinak, he always invoked the gods of Susa, Anzan and Elam, as well as the unnamed hundreds of local protector-gods, with the same piety. He wanted his reign to be the culmination of Elamite history and himself to be the legitimate inheritor and continuer of all the dynasties, whether of Simash, Susa, Elam or Anzan. Whenever he restored a sanctuary he was very careful to add to his dedications the names of his predecessors who had restored the sanctuary before adding his own. The historical importance of these 'genealogical' inscriptions is evident.

It was above all in respect of his brother and immediate predecessor, Kutir-Nahhunte, that Shilkhak-In-Shushinak carried out his ideas on the continuation of Elamite tradition and royalty. He married his brother's widow, Nahhunte-Utu, to whom he ever

¹ G, 8, 57, nos. 29-31.

paid respect. With each of his pious works he asked the gods to bless her, and she, their children, and her children from her former marriage, were united in his prayers. He carried on the work started by his brother on the temple of In-Shushinak, and after finishing the temple he replaced in it the statue of his brother to which he added a special inscription.¹

It is difficult to say whether his peaceful works or his victorious campaigns brought him the more renown, for he was both a great builder and a warrior. Thanks to several stelae inscribed in Elamite we know that there were many military campaigns during his reign; one inscription relates at least eight of these.² Although in bad condition, this is very important, for it lists the different cities and villages taken by Shilkhak-In-Shushinak and the different districts that he invaded. In the mutilated text only about a hundred of these names are left but in its original state the list must have contained nearly twice as many.

His first four campaigns must have been in a Semitic district to judge by the names of the villages captured. These are of the type *Sha-barbarē*, '(place) of the wolves', or *Bīt-nappahhē*, 'house of the blacksmiths'. The only township which can perhaps be located is Bīt-Nakiru, which is possibly derived from the name of the tribe Nakri against which Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria later campaigned.

The next part of the text is in good condition. This campaign took him into the district of Ukarsilla-Epekh, probably made up of Ugarsallu, which Ashur-dan had just taken from his Babylonian rival, and the region around the mountain Ebekh, modern Jebel Ḥamrīn, which is not far from the point where the upper Diyālā is joined by its higher tributaries. Shilkhak-In-Shushinak captured thirty-one localities in this district, of which only the following names remain: Bīt-lassi, Bīt-Sin-shemi, Bīt-Etelli, Matka, Sha-khalla, Appi-sini-piti, Sha-arad-ekalli and Kiprat. A few villages cited before this paragraph possibly belong to the same district; they are, to list a few: Sellam, Tunni, Matku, Bīt-Sin-eriba and Bīt-Kadashman. These names are mostly Semitic with a few Kassite components.

The next campaign took Shilkhak-In-Shushinak further to the north-west. The name of the district is partially broken and only . . . *tilla* is left. The Hurrian aspect of this suffix should be enough in itself to locate the district, but the mention of Arrapkha and Nuzu removes any doubt about where it is—the area around modern Kirkuk. Some of the other names are also known from

¹ G, 8, 63, no. 43.

² G, 8, 74, no. 54.

other texts: Khanbati, Sha-nishē, Titurru-sha... ('Bridge of ...'). As he took only eleven localities one may suppose that he did not want to spend too much time in an area so far removed from his home bases.

Next came an expedition on a larger scale, directed against four districts: Durun (Turnat), Ebekh, Shatrak... and Yalman (Hulwan). He captured forty-one places the names of which are in part Kassite (Sha-purna-mashkhūm) and in part Semitic (Bīt-Ishtar, Bīt-redūti—('small' and 'large'). Certain of the names indicate a cult of Babylonian deities (Bīt-Ishtar, Ishertu-sha-Adad, Bīt-rigim-Adad, ...ten-Sin). The name Reshu which is mentioned in this list is perhaps to be identified with the Aramaic tribe Rashi in the district of the Upper Karkhah which is mentioned later in a text of Sargon II.¹

His following campaign was also very extended and traversed at least five districts. The names of these are completely lost except Yalman (Hulwan), which shows that the Elamite army went once again over a road it had already travelled. Some fifty townships were captured by the Elamites, and certain of these, known from other texts, allow us to trace various stages of this campaign: Murattash, which is located south of the Lesser Zab and between the mountains Asaniu and Atuma: also Tukhupuna, which is to the south of the river Turnat (Diyālā) and the mountains of Yalman. This area seems to have been inhabited by a rather mixed population, but its civilization was markedly Semitic. Many names of place begin with the Semitic *ša* 'of' or *bū* 'house (of)', and the second element may indicate settlements purely Babylonian, such as Sha-Balikhu, Bīt-Sin-ishmanni, Bīt-barbarē, Bīt-khuppani, Bīt-Lakipu, or communities probably Kassite such as Bīt-Nashumalia, Bīt-Milshikhu, Bīt-tasak-*EŠŠANA*,² Bīt-Burra-khutta. Here and there, besides these, are grouped heterogeneous colonies in localities such as Nakhish-bararu, Sha-kattar-zakh, Anakhuttash, etc. Near the end of the list mention is made of Bīt-rigim-Adad, which had been captured during a previous campaign.

The name of the country next invaded cannot be determined but the village-names are clearly Semitic. All that remains of the district itself is ...-uk? -li? -lir-kattar. The last element of this name might recall the middle element of the name Sha-kattar-zakh

¹ If this identification is correct it is important for the history of the Aramaeans.

² The last element is the logogram 'king'; in what language should it be read? For the comparison of this name with *Bīt-Tassaki* of the annals of Tiglath-pileser III, see G, 5, 52 b.

in the previous list. The Elamites captured more than twenty places of which the following can be read with certainty: Bīt-nankari Tan-silam, Bīt-kunsu-pati, Pukhutu, Nakapu and Bīt-rapiku.

The following campaign also took place in a district which cannot be located as all that remains of the names is *Shi*-. . . . None of the twenty-six villages captured is known from other sources. Only a few of the names can be read with certainty: Kitan-Kharap, Bīt-[. . .]-kimil-Adad. Some of the others begin with *Bīt*- and one with *Nār*-, 'river'.

With the remains of a last list, where only *Kulāna* and a few others beginning with *Bīt*- can be read, end the victorious campaigns of Shilkhak-In-Shushinak beyond his borders, according to this account. These, however, were not his only campaigns, for new fragments of stelae mention others, in one of which the district of Khalman-Niri[puni?] was captured. This conquest was followed by another campaign during which the Elamites took fourteen localities, in a country the name of which is lost. Two other campaigns can also be discerned; one was in a region which included the district of Niripuni-Shurutukha and the other mentions the capture of the villages Makshia, Shakutu, Assie, Shakilka, Kishshimu and Talzana.¹

Even a simple list of these geographical names is enough to show the intense military activity of Shilkhak-In-Shushinak. Guided by the localities that can be located we are able to see the strategy behind the king's military campaigns. He evidently wished to control the country between the Tigris and the Zagros which touched his northern borders. His capture of the upper Diyālā, the area around the Jebel Ḥamrīn and around Ḥulwan shows very clearly that he wished to control the route along which Elam could be invaded from the west. It is on this line that the modern Sharābān, Khānaqīn, Ḥulwan, Karind and Kirmānshāh are located.

After having neutralized the Aramaean tribes along the western bank of the Tigris he penetrated even further north. Here he followed another route which ran northward through the high country from Kifri by Kirkuk and Altın-Köprü towards Irbil. It is possible that one of the expeditions was designed to gain control of the Kirkuk area which was a sort of turn-table. Of the different routes that go out from this point the most important is the one leading into the heart of Assyria; but from a strategic point of view that leading through the mountains towards modern

¹ G, 8, 78 f., nos. 54a and b.

Sulaimaniyyah was even more important. The fact that he should push on as far as the lower Zab shows his desire to bring pressure to bear on Assyria; from this vantage-point the capital Ashur would be only a few days march away. We do not know whether or not the Elamites actually threatened Ashur, but the fact that a revolt, followed by troubles, brought to an end the long reign of Ashur-dan I (1134) seems to suggest that the presence of the Elamites near by was of some consequence in these events.

The one thing certain is that the region of the upper Diyālā was the centre of Elamite attention. It is therefore surprising to find that on another stele there seems to be mention of an expedition directed towards Babylonia.¹ It seemed that Babylonia had been crushed or at least neutralized by Shutruk-Nahhunte and Kutir-Nahhunte and that it was precisely this condition which allowed Shilkhak-In-Shushinak to concentrate his efforts on lands in which Assyria might have been his rival. This seems to show that in a few years there had occurred a noticeable change in Babylonia. Preoccupied with assuring his hold on the region between the Tigris and the Zagros, Shilkhak-In-Shushinak inevitably lost control of the Euphrates. As we have seen, the campaigns of Shutruk-Nahhunte and Kutir-Nahhunte succeeded in controlling only Agade and its immediate surroundings, not lower Mesopotamia. At Isin a new state came into being. This must have grown rapidly in power, for it was strong enough to interfere in Assyria² on behalf of one of the sons of Ashur-dan I when the latter died. One can imagine that this attempt to profit, without striking a blow, from the victories of the Elamites was not favourably received by Shilkhak-In-Shushinak, and that the campaign related on this stele was perhaps a reprisal against the Babylonians for their interference in Assyria.

He therefore crossed the Tigris and crushed the first Babylonian resistance on the other bank. Then after capturing the town of Khussi he swept on to the Euphrates, and marched up the river until he reached Nimitti-Marduk, which was perhaps one of the walled fortifications that protected the southern approaches to Babylon. Despite his boast of having once again defeated the enemy, he probably did not capture the city, as it is not mentioned again in the text. His return to Elam brings to an end all Elamite pretensions in Babylonia.

He was now faced by new, although less important, problems on his own borders. The Zagros was inhabited by tribes of warlike plunderers whose raids had to be chastised from time to time.

¹ G, 8, 79, no. 54c.

² §11, 7.

Thus the tribe of Palakhutep had raided Elamite territory and carried off booty and prisoners. This tribe is later joined with the tribe Lallarippe in an inscription of the neo-Elamite king Temti-Khuban-In-Shushinak. If the name Lallarippe is derived from the name of the river Lallar, their homeland should be looked for somewhere in the country of Zamua, and that of the Palakhutep was perhaps in the same general area. Shilkhak-In-Shushinak immediately set out in pursuit of them. After having passed via Eli and Susa(?) he cut across Anzan and camped at Ulan and Sha-purna-mashkum. A break in the text does not allow us to follow the rest of the expedition but we know that the booty which the tribe had taken was brought back to Susa and dedicated to the god In-Shushinak.¹

These expeditions, as well as others mentioned in fragments, come to a large number. The reign of Shilkhak-In-Shushinak must have been long if one considers that the number of campaigns conducted was at least twelve. It is however possible that not all of these were separate, some being perhaps only episodes in wider campaigns. One of the texts mentions the capture of Sha-purna-mashkum, which occurs again in the raid against the tribe Palakhutep. This could also be the case in the campaign where Bit-rapiqu and *KUN*-Subbati were captured. If we allow that the former is identical with the Rapiqu mentioned in Assyrian texts as being just to the north of Babylon, and the latter as meaning the *KUN* of the Euphrates, then we could suppose that this text actually refers to the campaign against Babylonia.

Because of all of these campaigns, and despite the recession of Elamite power in Babylonia, Shilkhak-In-Shushinak merited the ancient title 'enlarger of the empire' of which he boasted in his inscriptions. His kingdom, which was well protected along the borders of the Zagros and in the north-west, extended beyond Anzan and Susiana to the eastern shores of the Persian Gulf. The important works undertaken by the king on the island of Bushire² show that his rule in this distant province was well established. That he controlled the inland areas as well as the coast can be seen by the material remains found in the fertile mountain plain between Rāmuz and Shīrāz.³ Bricks with the name of Shilkhak-In-Shushinak were also found in the remains of a building on the plateau of the Mamasenni Lurs. But it is doubtful whether the Elamites ever went beyond this point on the plateau where later on Persepolis was to be built.⁴

¹ G, 8, 66, no. 46; cf. §11, 5, 18 ff., col. III, 9-22. ² See above, p. 405, n. 1.

³ §11, 4; §11, 3, 114.

⁴ §11, 2; §11, 1, 21 a; G, 9, 333 b.

III. ELAMITE CIVILIZATION, c. 1125 B.C.

All of these territories, despite their cultural differences, were solidly held in hand by Shilkhak-In-Shushinak, as can be seen by the extensive building that he undertook in all parts of his empire. One stele records that temples to In-Shushinak were restored in Tettu, Shattamitik, Ekallatum, Perraperra, Bitumurni, Sha-attata-ekal-likrub, Marrut and Shakhan-tallak; that a sanctuary of Lakamar was restored at Bit-Khulki; and that a temple of Khumban was rebuilt at Peptar-sian-sit.¹ This list shows that his activities were not confined to Susiana and Anzan but extended even to northern Babylonia, the Sea-Land and probably the provinces of central Elam. In order to conduct such a widespread programme a 'pax Elamitica' was necessary. We should not conclude from the number of references to In-Shushinak that the king was trying to force his personal god on the country as part of his programme of centralization, for all of the above-mentioned temples existed before his time and Shilkhak-In-Shushinak only restored them using a more durable material. But it must be admitted that the list does show a predilection for the god of Susa.

This stele, in which only the peaceful aspect of this 'man of war' is revealed, rightly draws our attention to a very important activity of the king—as a builder. Susa owes much of its splendour to Shilkhak-In-Shushinak. We have many texts which commemorate the foundation or restoration of temples at Susa:² there are the traditional foundation bricks inserted in the walls, stelae, votive vases, divine symbols, door sockets, enamelled decorative cones. These texts which are often very long give the name of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated and, if we were able to translate the whole inscription, details about the temple itself. They are also valuable from another point of view, for they give the list of gods venerated by Shilkhak-In-Shushinak, the genealogical line of the ancient kings who had founded or restored the temple, the names of the royal family whom he blesses as well as the text of older bricks which he carefully looked for and had copied at the beginning of his own inscription.³

Naturally it is the god In-Shushinak who is the most often invoked. Bricks, stelae and enamelled pommels speak of the

¹ §11, 6, no. LXXI; G, 8, 69, no. 48; §11, 5, 29 ff.

² G, 8, 58 ff.

³ §11, 6, no. LXXVIII, pl. 9; G, 8, 60, no. 38; cf. §1, 6.

restoration of the great temple of In-Shushinak at Susa. It was entirely reconstructed with baked bricks by the king. The interior was very richly decorated and on a copper pedestal he placed an altar decorated with the same metal; to this were added vases and other objects in copper which were to be used for the cult. Facing the altar was his own statue, beside which were the statues of his father, his brother, his wife and his children. A long bronze cylinder was placed in front of the altar, and bas-reliefs of enamelled bricks and sculptured panels of bronze ran around the walls. Other masterpieces of Elamite metal-workers, as votive offerings, contributed to the embellishing of this holy place. Another temple, which In-Shushinak shared with Lakamar, was also rebuilt. It had been founded by an ancient king whose name was unknown, despite the efforts of Shilkhak-In-Shushinak to find the original foundation brick.

Despite this preference for In-Shushinak, the others gods were not neglected. A temple was rebuilt for Khumban of baked brick and a stele of alabaster and sacred ornaments were placed inside. The temple or sanctuary of Manzat and Shimut, Sukhsipa, Pinikir, Ishme-karab, and Tapmikir were restored. The chapel of Bēltia, the Lady of Babylon, was also restored and the interior made somewhat like the temple of In-Shushinak. At Liyan he entirely reconstructed with baked bricks the ancient sanctuary of Kiririsha, and also the temple which this goddess shared with the god Khumban. The restorer took this opportunity to honour the ancient founder Khumban-numena, and to invoke the protection of the goddess upon himself and his family.

One is struck by the ostentatious way in which the king describes how he had these temples, formerly built of crude brick, restored with baked brick. He could well take pride in this, even if the baked bricks were used only as a facing of the walls, for the large-scale use of this material is an act of munificence in itself. The clay is a natural product and cheap enough but the baking is very expensive. The necessary combustibles are not common in the country and what forests there are near Susa supply only a brushwood that flares quickly without giving much heat. The manufacture of baked bricks, therefore, necessitated a large number of workers to cut, collect, transport, and tend the fires, as well as the masons and artists who decorated the outward faces.

Another sumptuous feature of these constructions was the wealth of panels and enamelled motifs as well as the large number of copper and bronze objects with which the buildings were

decorated. One thinks of the admiration they caused to the Assyrian conquerors when some centuries later they saw 'the zikkurat of Susa which was covered with lapis-lazuli' and its summit 'which was adorned with shining bronze'.¹ Elam had always produced excellent artisans in bronze but at this period they were pre-eminent. Excavations have brought to light the very fine bronze bas-relief known as the *bronze aux guerriers*, which probably decorated the temple of In-Shushinak² (as we have already said). It is composed of three scenes: the top has now almost completely disappeared; the lowest, a scene representing trees and birds, was only partly finished; but the middle register is executed with incontestable mastery. The seven warriors are shown with helmets and a short tunic divided in front. The left hand, kept down beside the body, holds a bow and the right hand brandishes above the head a broad curved dagger. This line of warriors, caught by the artist in the same sculptured attitude, is most striking.

Besides the bronze cylinder, which was more than four metres long and cast in one piece,³ numerous other products of Elamite metallurgy were found in the ruins of Susa. There is for instance the remarkable 'serpent-altar' which, despite its damaged state, is one of the more beautiful examples of this art. The table, which was supported by five figures, of which only the upper part of the torso and the arms are left, has two snakes encircling it. There are also channels on the table for draining away liquids, and the whole is very well modelled.⁴

If we cannot date this object with exactitude to the reign of Shilkhak-In-Shushinak there is another which is so dated by its inscription. This is the curious bronze tray known as the *šīt šamši*, 'sunrise',⁵ which merits more than passing attention. An adoration-scene is depicted—two nude figures with shaven heads squat facing each other before an ablution vessel. On either side of the figures are stage-towers, the larger of which has three storeys and is very complicated in design. The other, simpler and smaller, is made up of a central section higher than its width, flanked on either side by two lower cubes. There is also a table for offerings, two round pillars the top of which is incurved to support an

¹ G, 12, vol. II, sect. 810. 'Lapis-lazuli' refers only to the blue colour of the enamelled bricks covering the walls of the temple; cf. G, 16, 387, n. 9.

² §III, 4, 86; G, 4, 932 f.; G, 8, 62, no. 42.

³ §V, 2, 37; §II, 6, 39 ff.; G, 8, 64, no. 45; G, 4, 933 f.

⁴ G, 4, 933; §III, 3, 164, plate XII.

⁵ §III, 2, 143 ff.; §III, 1, 84 ff.; G, 4, 932 f.; G, 8, 81, no. 56; §III, 5, 144 ff.

impost, two rectangular vats, a stele on a platform, two rows of little conical heaps which possibly represent cereal offerings. Finally there are four tree-trunks, their foliage of thin metal almost completely destroyed by oxidization; these probably represented a sacred grove. It was cast in two parts, one in the round together with the tray; the other parts were made separately and then riveted into place.

The interest of this object goes beyond the fact that it represents a remarkable example of native art or that it shows us certain ablution rites, for it is probably a model of the acropolis of Susa, with two of its temples, their appurtenances, their ornaments and sacred grove, at the time of Shilkhak-In-Shushinak. This allows us to complete, to a certain extent, the information we have from the excavations concerning the topography of Susa.

IV. THE TOPOGRAPHY OF SUSA

In the northern part of the mound certain remains of buildings seem by their orientation to correspond with the smaller of the two temples, which appear on the bronze tray. A tablet from the time of Shulgi identifies this as being, at least in earlier days, the shrine of the goddess Nin-khursag. Rebuilt from age to age this temple carried on the cult of the 'Lady of the Mountain' down to the reign of Shilkhak-In-Shushinak, when she perhaps bore a native name. The temple was built on a platform nearly square, 25 metres each side, cut off by a trench more than one metre in depth. The sanctuary can be located by four brick boxes at each corner containing votive offerings. It measured 16 by 8 metres, and rooms of various dimensions gave off from this space. Four more deposits of offerings marked out the 'holy of holies', 6 metres square, at the western end of a wide passage—here was found the statue of the queen Napirasu.¹ Remains of paving indicate the courtyard, and rectangular basins were built into the east and west inside walls, a brick-built channel leading into one of them. On the north side, where the entrance probably stood, lay fragments of statuettes, vases, pedestals, and various objects, among them especially figures of Puzur-In-Shushinak and a stele of Manishtusu. Still further to the north some Elamite stelae were unearthed.²

At the west of the mound, where according to the bronze model the three-storeyed building of complicated design was located, stood in fact the great temple of In-Shushinak.³ Its limits again were marked by eight deposits of votive offerings. To judge from

¹ See Plate 157(a).

² §IV, 3, 70 ff.

³ §IV, 3, 67 ff.

what was unearthed during the excavations, the temple had greatly altered during the years. Votive objects of Shulgi and inscribed bricks of Untash-(d)GAL and Shilkhak-In-Shushinak were found here and there in the walls and among the paving stones. The building was constructed at the edge of the tell. It measures 40 by 20 metres and was surrounded by a moat 3 metres in depth. The walls on the longer sides still exist and the eastern, which is in a better state of preservation, was built of baked bricks. It was probably the facing of a thick wall of unbaked clay. The temple proper was delimited by four deposits of votive offerings and measured 20·70 by 8·50 metres. It was separated from the secondary buildings, towards the south, by a large paved area which measured 19 by 4 metres and extended towards the west where it touched the enclosure. Inside the temple against the eastern wall the inner temple, which measures about 8 by 5 metres, was delimited by four more deposits of votive offerings. Here and there other pavements were found but being at different levels they were rather difficult to interpret. It seems that there was a large court or parvis on the eastern side and the entrance was probably located here. The parade on which these buildings stood was surrounded by a wall decorated with bas-reliefs and Elamite stelae placed at intervals. Columns of brick or bronze and lion-figures of stone or glazed earthenware were found in the southern part of the area.

Even if the temples of Nin-khursag and In-Shushinak are actually those in miniature on the bronze tray the complete acropolis is not shown there, for the excavations have found remains of several other religious buildings at other places on the mound.¹ A small sanctuary, oriented in a different direction, measuring 4·50 metres on each side, lay to the south of the temple of Nin-khursag, and not far from this was discovered a white marble statue of Puzur-In-Shushinak. Still further towards the south was another building of rather large dimensions. Its long wall was at least 15 metres in length and 1 metre thick. The long covered stairway of at least 120 steps which goes into the mass of the mound between two walls of rammed earth was possibly an element of this building. Towards the east there was another structure of modest proportions, 5 metres square, decorated with glazed bricks. Its entrance, more than 2 metres wide, faced the west, and the far end of the room was paved, where probably had been an altar or a divine statue. A building facing the temple of In-Shushinak towards the south-west was probably of consider-

¹ §IV, 3, 78 ff.

able size. It is difficult to judge its disposition from what remains, but the obelisk of Manishtusu, the victory-stele of Naram-Sin, boundary-stones and pedestals of statues, which were found in this area, suggest that it was a very important temple on the acropolis. In various parts of the site bases of baked-brick columns were found. They were made in a variety of shapes, round, oval and square, and came from a number of buildings on the site, but only those from the temples of In-Shushinak and Nin-khursag could be identified by their inscriptions.

What is left on the acropolis does not give us a complete picture of what Susa must have been in all her glory. The devastating fury of the Assyrian armies, some five hundred years later, and the ravages of time have reduced its buildings to heaps of ruins. At least the bronze tray (*šū šamši*) gives some idea of the splendour that was once the acropolis of Susa. Ashurbanipal was later to describe the shining façade of the great temple of Susa with its wall glazed in blue, its statues of kings and gods, its protective genii of awe-inspiring aspect who guarded the holy places and, finally, its mausoleums of former kings, whose bones and ashes the Assyrian king scattered to the four winds in his desire for revenge on this race of conquerers.

Fountains and woods added to the beauty of the architecture. The many basins and numerous other remains show that there must have been a complex drainage and irrigation system.¹ It was used for the collection of rain-water, as well as for raising water from the canal up to the acropolis itself. This installation supplied water to the sacred groves which protected the acropolis from the burning sun of Susiana. Planting of trees near temples, attested symbolically by the *šū šamši*, was not unknown in Babylonia and Assyria, for references to trees in the vicinity of temples² are not to be understood as indicating only artificial imitations.³ Ashurbanipal in his annals makes this allusion to the trees at Susa: 'Their sacred groves into which no stranger (ever) penetrates, whose borders he never (over)steps—into these my soldiers entered, saw their mysteries, and set them on fire.'⁴ Discoveries and texts thus agree in proclaiming the prestige and prosperity of Susa at the time of Shilkhak-In-Shushinak.

¹ §IV, 3, 73 ff. and figs. 34-7.

³ §I, 3, 26.

² §IV, I, 16A f.; §IV, 2, nos. 65, 366.

⁴ G, 12, vol. II, sect. 810.

V. KHUTELUTUSH-IN-SHUSHINAK

To maintain Elamite power Shilkhak-In-Shushinak needed a successor who would be worthy of himself. This, unfortunately, was not the case with his son and successor Khutelutush-In-Shushinak. The royal protocol shows two symptoms of his weakness. In his genealogy he speaks of himself as not only the chosen son of his father but of his uncle, Kutir-Nahhunte, and his grandfather, Shutruk-Nahhunte, as well. This seems to be an attempt to support his authority by the use of the ancient Elamite matriarchal concept,¹ if we admit that his mother, who had been married to the two brothers, was also the daughter of Shutruk-Nahhunte. In any case this desire to identify himself as being of the same blood as these three kings and his desire to affirm the legitimacy of the bonds between him and his brothers and sisters seem to show a lack of confidence in himself, which appears even in his titles. Although he called himself 'enlarger of the empire', perhaps only for traditional reasons, he did not take the title *sunkir* 'king' which had been used by his predecessors, but merely called himself 'menir of Anzan and Susa'. This brings to mind one of the titles, 'hal-menir of Elam', used by Khumban-numena, and it refers to a feudal power rather than power based on divine right.

If we compare the very small number of inscriptions left by Khutelutush-In-Shushinak² with those of Shilkhak-In-Shushinak they appear lifeless. There were no longer trophies taken from the enemy nor victory stelae. A few texts refer to peaceful pursuits, and these were probably on a smaller scale than those undertaken by his father. At the beginning of his reign, when his mother is still mentioned in the final prayer, he probably had work done on the temples of Manzhat and Shimutta and a votive inscription was placed on a door socket in honour of Manzhat for the occasion. Later, in the city of Shalulikki, he inaugurated a new temple of baked brick in honour of the goddess Upurkupak, for his life and the life of his brothers. Later again a temple was rebuilt at Kipu, in Elam, for the goddess Ishme-karab from whom he asked blessings upon his children, his brothers and himself. He also had a chapel, constructed of flat green-glazed bricks, founded in honour of his father Shilkhak-In-Shushinak. This building has recently been excavated but it cannot be dated.³ There is also a fragment of a stele from his reign, invoking the gods of Elam and the gods of Anzan, and of these In-Shushinak, Nahhunte, Upurkupak, Khumban(?), and Manzhat are named.

¹ §v, 4; §v, 5.² G, 8, 84 ff. nos. 60-5.³ §v, 2, 38.

In the absence of historical texts we can glean some politically important information from these dedication inscriptions. The mention of Shalulikki shows that the Elamite king still controlled a part of lower Mesopotamia, or at least the Sealand. It is probable that the distant province of Liyan was no longer held by the king, as none of the bricks from this site mention him; but Elam, Anzan and Susiana remained under his control and their gods are always named in his inscriptions.

There was a certain coherence in the realm. Shilkhak-In-Shushinak had built up a military power which survived him, but his son was unable to take advantage of this inheritance. This state of affairs was greatly aggravated by the energy and ambition of his adversaries in Assyria and Babylonia. The former, under Ashur-rēsha-ishi (1133-1116), awoke from its lethargy. This king began a policy of expansion and conquest that was to be taken even further by his successor Tiglath-pileser I. Babylonia under Nebuchadrezzar I (1124-1103) had also come to life. Unfortunately Khutelutush-In-Shushinak was not the one who could maintain the position of Elam before two such rivals. As he was to show on two occasions, he did not lack courage, but it was his lack of decision and foresight that was to be his undoing. Instead of moving his armies into the plains and mountains along his borders he allowed Nebuchadrezzar to take the initiative, and the Babylonian king was able to carry out a violent and successful attack against Elam.¹ This might have been preceded by an unsuccessful attempt, for a fragment of a chronicle relates an attack against Elam but the names of the kings involved are missing; it may have involved Nebuchadrezzar or one of his immediate predecessors.² This Babylonian king, after having sworn that he would rescue his god Marduk from Susa or die in the attempt, gathered his troops at Babylon and then launched a violent attack through the Zagros towards the upper Karkhah. The Elamite counter-attack, although late, was of equal violence. The Babylonian army was forced to retreat and, after an attempt to take refuge in the city of Dūr-Apil-Sin, the Babylonian king and his army were driven out of the country. The text ends with a lamentation of the defeated king.

That the Babylonians could advance as far as the Karkhah, only 150 kilometres above Susa, reveals that the Elamites had already lost control of the western bank of the Tigris. It was certainly so in the time of Khutelutush-In-Shushinak, but probably

¹ §1, 7, 138 f.

² *Ibid.* 137.

too at the end of his father's reign, so that the unsuccessful attack recorded by the chronicle may have been made by one of the earliest kings of the Isin dynasty rather than by Nebuchadrezzar himself. But if by the latter, he had learned his lesson, and before launching the attack which was to succeed he made sure of the help of effective allies. By promising Lakti-Marduk¹ of Bit-Karziabku to free his land of all taxes, statute-labour and service, he was aided by the chariots of this chief. He also welcomed two important persons from the Elamite city Dīn-sharri, Shamua and his son Shamaia, a priest of the god Ria,² undertaking to rescue their god and to secure him important privileges. Thus prepared, he began his campaign from Dēr, the modern Badrah,³ whence an almost impracticable route followed the Gawī river into the Elamite province called Khalekhasta at a later date. The line of attack was now farther south, thus menacing Susa much more than the previous campaign. The aggressor wished also to spring a surprise attack upon the Elamites and therefore, despite the heat of summer and the lack of water, he force-marched his army in a veritable leap to the river Ulai (the modern Kārūn) near to Susa. Here the Elamites counter-attacked, and according to the inscription of Lakti-Marduk the chariots commanded by him saved the day. The Babylonian victory was decisive and the defeated Elamite king fled and died shortly afterwards.⁴ All resistance ceased, and the Babylonian was able to conquer the rest of Elam without striking another blow. After pillaging Elam he returned in triumph with his booty as well as the statues of the gods Ria and Marduk, released after so many years captivity in Susa. He then rewarded his allies as he had promised; the income of several cities and villages was given for maintenance of the god Ria, who had been taken from Babylon to the city of Khuṣṣi by Shamua and his son on the order of the Babylonian king.⁵

This Babylonian victory and the death of Khutelutush-In-Shushinak brought Elamite power to an end. A text⁶ from a later

¹ §v, 1 proposed the reading *Lakti-Shipak* instead of the usual reading *Ritti-Marduk*. This is correct as to the first part of the name, for the signs *rit* and *lak* are easily distinguished at that date. See, however, above, p. 455, n. 6.

² [Or Eriya: see above, p. 456, and cf. bibliography to ch. xxxi, A, 3, 108 (Ed.)]

³ §vi, 10, 47; §v, 7.

⁴ This victory was so decisive that it was remembered in succeeding ages, and had its place among the historical references of the astrologers: §v, 8, no. 200, rev. 5; §v, 10, 176.

⁵ §v, 11, 534 ff.; §v, 3, nos. vi and xxiv, and see also §v, 9 and §v, 6, 147 ff.

⁶ A brick of Shutruk-Nahhunte II, G, 14, 5, 63 ff., no. 84.

period tells us that the successor was *sunkir* 'king' and that he reconstructed a sanctuary of In-Shushinak at Susa. But as a political power Elam was finished. This period was followed by a dark age of three centuries, during which there are no native texts nor are there allusions to Elam in the Mesopotamian sources. Undoubtedly broken up internally, Elam was not to be mentioned again until 821 when Elamite, Chaldaean and Aramaean troops were defeated by the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad V.¹

VI. THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF WESTERN PERSIA

The elimination of Elam as a major power did not, however, bring peace to the Zagros. The kings of Babylonia and above all the kings of Assyria continued to make war in the region between Lake Urmiah and northern Elam. Later this was to become one of the principal theatres of operations for the Assyrians. As these became more and more powerful, they were obliged to get a foothold in the mountainous districts along their borders from which they could push their military expeditions much further towards the east.

The Assyrian interest in these high lands went beyond the strategic advantage of allowing them to cut off any invasions that might come through these trails and valleys. Economically they were also very important, for the Zagros and the western approaches to the Iranian plateau were not uniformly poor. The inner plains and some of the valleys were fertile, and there were oases which were highly cultivated or grazing lands with large numbers of horses as well as flocks and herds. They were also an important source of minerals, having metallurgical centres which manufactured bronze, copper, and afterwards iron. Through these regions moved vast quantities of precious stones, copper ore and manufactured copper.

This strategic and economic importance explains the increasing interest of the Assyrians in these regions. To these reasons was soon to be added another; certain movements and migrations of peoples brought a double menace to bear on Mesopotamia, the threat of cutting off supplies, and of possible invasion.

To understand better the changes that were afterwards to take place in this area we must give a short account of its former populations. The sources of our knowledge about this country—texts from Mesopotamia—show that it was inhabited for a long time

¹ G, 12, vol. 1, sect. 726; G, 15, 156 ff.

by four major ethnic groups: the Subarians, the Hurrians, the Lullubi and the Gutî. The two latter groups were native to the area. The Subarians and the Hurrians lived mostly in the plains and only a few of their numbers actually in the Zagros.

The Subarians¹ lived in the mountains to the east of the Tigris between Barakhshe, near the Diyālā, and southern Anatolia. They were neighbours of Anzan and Eshnunna. Hammurabi who had defeated them along with the Gutî and Elam put them among those countries whose 'mountains are distant and the languages are complicated'.² They had a much fairer skin than the Mesopotamians, to whom they long provided an ample supply of slaves. It was also to the east of the Tigris that the Hurrians first appeared. They entered very early into Mesopotamia but some of them stayed in the area to the south and west of Lake Vān, to the east of Irbil and Altın-Köprü or in the Zagros. Of the latter group some went into Elam and others moved towards the Caspian Sea.³

The Lullubi and the Gutî stayed in the mountains from where they constantly menaced Mesopotamia. Although the Lullubi (Lullu, Lullubu, Lullumî) may be mentioned as early as in the archaic tablets of Fārah their actual homeland is not revealed until the Agade period, when inscriptions were found in their territory. Those of Naram-Sin are at Darband-i Gawr, south of Sulaimaniyyah, and at Darband-i Ramkan, near the plain of Rania,⁴ and commemorate his wars against this people. Others are the work of the Lullubi, celebrating a victory of their king Annubanini. These inscriptions are engraved on rocks at Sar-i pul, in the district of Hūlwan, some 30 kilometres to the south of Qaṣr-i Shīrīn.⁵ This is much further south than those above mentioned, and is probably the southernmost point reached by the Lullubi in their attempt to control and cut off the commercial route which runs through southern Kurdistān from the Iranian plateau to the Mesopotamian plain. At a later date, the date-formulae of Shulgi⁶ seem to indicate that the Lullubi homeland began in the area immediately to the east of Irbil and Altın-Köprü with its centre at Rania, which undoubtedly remained the focus of their culture in later years.⁷ Thanks to the rock inscrip-

¹ §vi, nos. 11, 12, and 38.

² G, 6, no. 146, col. iv.

³ §vi, 11 and 12; §vi, 15, 31 ff.; §vi, 16, 61 ff.

⁴ §vi, 6; §vi, 20, 184.

⁵ §vi, 40, 98 ff. and 187 (bibliography).

⁶ For the 26th, 45th and 46th years; see G, 5, 141 f. Lullubum is conjoined with Urbillum and Simurram.

⁷ §vi, 23, 77, 24–5.

tions of Annubanini and the victory stele of Naram-Sin we have some idea of the physical aspect of these warlike mountaineers. Dressed in light tunics or kilts, an animal skin over the shoulders, short beards and braided hair they appear to be of Mediterranean rather than of Armenoid stock. The mention of their 'numerous kings' shows that they had not a centralized state but were divided into small clans directed by independent chiefs, and were united only in times of emergency.

The Gutians, or Qutu, also lived in southern Kurdistān. After their expulsion from Mesopotamia,¹ where they had established a barbarian rule, texts written during the First Dynasty of Babylon define with some clearness their habitation in the Zagros. It was delimited by the boundaries of Subartu, Turukku, Eshnunna, Barakhshe and Idamaraz.² Some of them also lived in the region of Rania.³ Later on it becomes more difficult to localize them, as the Akkadians grouped all of the autochthonous groups under the general heading of Gutians. Because of this such locations as 'the city of Karkhar is situated in front of the Gutian country'⁴ are very misleading. From what little we know of their social structure, during the period when they occupied Mesopotamia,¹ we can see that they formed a sort of tribal confederation of rough and simple people. They were led by a military aristocracy which elected a 'king' for a fixed, but short, period of time.

From what has been said above two conclusions follow: we know the western limits of these various ethnic groups but nothing of their eastward extent—the Mesopotamians themselves knew little of these distant regions. We also find that they had no particular territory of their own, but often overlapped one another. This is very clear in the Rania plain at the time of Shamshi-Adad I. There the principal city Shusharra (modern Shemshāra) was under Assyrian control,⁵ but the majority of its population was Hurrian. Others of the inhabitants were Lullubi,⁶ and more warlike elements of these lived in the vicinity, maintaining economic relations with the city but holding over it a threat of insecurity.⁷ The district was also disturbed by raids of Turukians,⁸ and not far away were Gutians, themselves under a Hurrian chief,⁹ and also in relation with the city. Out of this hotch-potch

¹ By Utu-khegal, prince of Uruk; §vi, 35 and 36; §vi, 43.

² Date-formulae for the 30th, 32nd and 37th years of Hammurabi; G, 5, 180 f.; §vi, 1, vol. iv, 25; §vi, 22, 83, n. 1; §vi, 27, 241.

³ §vi, 23, 32 ff.

⁴ §vi, 28, 12, no. 6, line 7.

⁶ *Ibid.* 80, lines 45 f.

⁸ §vi, 1, vol. iv, 25.

⁵ §vi, 23, 75.

⁷ *Ibid.* 77 ff., lines 24–36.

⁹ §vi, 23, 36, no. 8.

of peoples arose a kind of common culture throughout the mountain region, and the evidence of names proves that it extended even into Elam.¹

The Kassites were soon to enter into this community. We do not know whether they migrated thither or whether they originated in the region at the source of the Elamite rivers. In any case they appear on the scene at a time when the more western approaches of the Iranian plateau were in a period of social and economic change. A new type of pottery appears; cities and townships begin to put up walls; small stock becomes more numerous, perhaps to the detriment of cattle; and the problem of moving the flocks and renewing pasture-lands becomes more urgent. We know that the Kassites invaded Babylonia in very large numbers at the time of the First Dynasty and that they settled down in this new land. But certain groups stayed in the Zagros, and these, along with the Lullubi and the Gutians, were the important elements in the Zagros down to the end of the second millennium.

It is these people that Nebuchadrezzar I (1124-1103) and his contemporary Ashur-rēsha-ishi (1134-1116), king of Assyria, met during their military expeditions in the Zagros. The former boasted of having subdued 'the powerful Lullubi' and raided the Kassites; the latter claimed that he subdued 'the Lullume, all of the Gutians, and the whole mountainous region where they live'.² It was settlements of Kassites, mixed with Semites and Hurrians, that the Elamite king Shilkhak-In-Shushinak at the same period listed among his conquests to the north of his country. Linguistically, the geographical names show that the Subarian language was predominant in the region of the Tigris and the Diyālā, and the Lullubian south of the Lesser Zab.³ The personal and the divine names show interpenetration among these different ethnic groups. Some of the gods that the Akkadians considered as Gutian were in fact Hurrian. Certain Kassite words, such as the word for 'king', were known as far away as the district of the lakes.

This situation in the Zagros was, at the end of the second millennium, on the eve of profound changes, although nothing of these had yet appeared. Gutians and Lullubians continued, indeed, to be named in the annals of Assyrian kings, and scattered groups of Kassites survived into the classical age on the east and north-east of Babylonia.⁴ But from the outset of the first millennium there was to begin a complete refashioning of the political geography in these lands.

¹ §vi, 33.

² G, 12, vol. 1, sect. 209.

³ G, 12, vol. 1, sect. 449 and 457; §vi, 37, 5, line 11.

⁴ G, 18.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- Abh. Berlin* (München etc.). *Abhandlungen der Preussischen (Bayerischen etc.) Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*
Abh. D.O.G. *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*
A.Bo.T. *Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri*
Acta Arch. *Acta Archaeologica*
Acta Or. *Acta Orientalia*
Ägyptol. Abh. *Ägyptologische Abhandlung*
Ägyptol. Forsch. *Ägyptologische Forschungen*
A.I.A.R.S. *Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae*
A.I.R.R.S. *Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*
A.J. *Antiquaries Journal*
A.J.A. *American Journal of Archaeology*
A.J.Ph. *American Journal of Philology*
A.J.S.L. *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
Alte Or. *Der Alte Orient*
Altor. Forsch. *Altorientalische Forschungen*
A.M. *Annales du Midi*
A.M.I. *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*
An. Or. *Analecta Orientalia*
A.N.E.T. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*
Ann. Arch. Anthr. *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Liverpool)
Ann. Arch. de Syrie. *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie*
Ann. A.S.O.R. *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
Ann. Inst. philol. hist. or. (et slaves). *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales (et slaves)*
Ann. Mus. Guimet. *Annales du Musée Guimet*
Ann. Serv. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*
Ann. Univ. Ferrara. *Annali della Università di Ferrara*
Antiq. *Antiquity*
A.O.B. *Altorientalische Bibliothek*
A.O.S. *American Oriental Series|Society*
Arch. Anz. *Archaeologischer Anzeiger. Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
Arch. de l'Institut de Pal. hum. *Archives de l'Institut de Paléontologie humaine*
Arch. Delt. *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*
Arch. Eph. (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*). *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*
Arch. f. Keil. *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*
Arch. f. Or. *Archiv für Orientforschung*
Arch. f. Rel. *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
Arch. Orient. *Archiv Orientalni*
Arh. Radovi i Rasprave. *Arheologiski radovi i rasprave*
Arkæol. Kunsthist. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk. *Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Arkæologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser*
A.R.M.T. *Archives royales de Mari* (translation vols.)

- A.S.A.A.* *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente*
A. St. *Anatolian Studies*
Ath. Mitt. *Athenische Mitteilungen, Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
Atti Accad. Lincei. *Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei*
Austr. Bibl. Rev. *Australian Biblical Review*
B.A. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*
B.C.H. *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
B.E. *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*
Beitr. z. Hist. Theol. *Beiträge zur historischen Theologie*
Beitr. zur Wiss. vom A. (u. N.) T. *Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament*
Bi. Ar. *Biblical Archaeologist*
Bib. *Biblica*
Bibl. Aeg. *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*
Bibl. arch. et hist. *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique*
B.I.C.S. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London*
Bi. Or. *Bibliotheca Orientalis*
Bol. de la Soc. Esp. de Excursiones. *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*
Boll. d'Arte. *Bollettino d'Arte*
Boll. della Soc. Geog. Ital. *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*
Boll. di Paletn. Ital. *Bollettino di Paletnologia Italiana*
Bo. Stu. *Boghazköi-Studien*
Brooklyn Mus. Annual *Brooklyn Museum Annual*
B.S.A. *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens*
Bull. Amer. Inst. for Persian Art and Arch. *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology*
Bull. A.S.O.R. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
Bull. Hist. Med. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*
Bull. Inst. Archaeol. London. *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London*
Bull. Inst. d'Ég. *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*
Bull. M.M.A. *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York)*
Bull. Ryl. Libr. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library (Manchester)*
Bull. S.A. J. *British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Bulletin*
Bull. S.O.A.S. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
Bull. Soc. fr. Égyptol. *Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie*
Bull. Soc. Ling. *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris*
Bull. Soc. préh. fr. *Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française*
Bull. Univ. Mus. Penna. *Bulletin of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania*
C.A.H. *Cambridge Ancient History*
Cah. Ar. B. *Cahiers d'archéologie biblique*
Cah. H.M. *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale (cf. J.W.H.)*
Cath. Bibl. Quart. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
C.C.G. *Cairo Museum, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes*
Chron. d'Ég. *Chronique d'Égypte*
Cl. Phil. *Classical Philology*
Cl. Quart. *Classical Quarterly*
Cl. Rev. *Classical Review*

- C.-R. *Ac. Inscr. B.-L. Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
 Denk. k. Akad. Wiss. Wien. *Denkschriften des kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*
 D.L.Z. *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*
 Eph. Arch. Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική
 E.E.S. *Egypt Exploration Society*
 Flles Inst. fr. Caire. *Fouilles de l'Institut français du Caire*
 Forsch. Rel. Lit. *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*
 Forsch. u. Fortschr. *Forschungen und Fortschritte*
 G.J. *Geographical Journal*
 G.R.B.S. *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies, Duke University, Durham, N.C.*
 Harv. Stud. Class. Phil. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
 H.U.C.A. *Hebrew Union College Annual*
 I.E.J. *Israel Exploration Journal*
 Ill. Ldn News. *Illustrated London News*
 Indogerm. Forsch. *Indogermanische Forschungen*
 Ist. Mitt. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Deutsches archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul*
 J.A. *Journal asiatique*
 Jahrb. f. Cl. Ph. *Jahrbuch für classische Philologie*
 J.A.O.S. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
 J.A.R.C.E. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
 J. Bibl. Lit. *Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*
 J.C.S. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
 J.D.A.I. *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
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 J.N.E.S. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
 J.P.O.S. *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*
 J.R.A.S. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
 J.S.S. *Journal of Semitic Studies*
 J.T.S. *Journal of Theological Studies*
 J.W.H. *Journal of World History (cf. Cah. H.M.)*
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Nachr. Göttingen. Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse
N.C. La Nouvelle Clío
Nederl. Theol. Tijdschrift. Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift
Num. Chron. Numismatic Chronicle
O.I.C. Oriental Institute Communications
O.I.P. Oriental Institute Publications
Ö.J.H. Österreichische Jahreshefte
O.L.Z. Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
Op. Arch. Opuscula Archaeologica, Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae
Op. Ath. Opuscula Atheniensia, Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae
Or. Orientalia
Or. antiq. Oriens antiquus
Or. Suecana. Orientalia Suecana
P.A.E. Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας
P.B.S. Publications of the Babylonian Section, The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania
P.E.F. Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund
P.E.Q. Palestine Exploration Quarterly
P.J.B. Palästina Jahrbuch
P.P.S. Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society
Prähist. Zeitschr. Prähistorische Zeitschrift
Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc. Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
Proc. Brit. Acad. Proceedings of the British Academy
Proc. Camb. Philol. Soc. Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society
P.W. Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Mittelhaus, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
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R.D.A.C. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus
Rec. trav. Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes
Rend. Acc. Napoli Rendiconti Accademia Napoli
Rev. anth. Revue anthropologique
Rev. arch. Revue archéologique
Rev. bibl. Revue biblique
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Rev. d'égyptol. Revue d'égyptologie
Rev. des Arts. Revue des Arts
Rev. d'hist. et philos. relig. Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses

- Rev. ét. anc.* *Revue des études anciennes*
Rev. ét. lig. *Revue des études ligures*
Rev. hist. *Revue historique*
Rev. hist. rel. *Revue de l'histoire des religions*
Revue arch. de l'Est et du Centre-Est. *Revue archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est*
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Theol. St. Kr. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*
Theol. Stud. *Theological Studies*
Theol. Zeitschr. *Theologische Zeitschrift*
T.L.Z. *Theologische Literaturzeitung*
Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*
Türk. Hist. Gesell. Veröff. *Veröffentlichungen der Türkischen Historischen Gesellschaft*
U.E. *Ur Excavations*
U.E.T. *Ur Excavations: Texts*
Unters. *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens*
Urk. *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*
V.A.B. *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*
V.T. *Vetus Testamentum*
We. Or. *Die Welt des Orients*
Westminster Theol. Journ. *Westminster Theological Journal*
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CHAPTER XXIX

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